

Pope Pius X.

OWING to the desirability at this troubled season of making all preparations betimes, the sad news of the death of the Holy Father only reached us when the impression of the present issue of THE MONTH was already far advanced. But inadequate as the tribute must be, we cannot neglect to associate ourselves by at least a few imperfect words with the outburst of heartfelt sorrow which has found utterance, not only among the Catholics of every land, but wherever faith, brotherly love and simple integrity are known and honoured. Although the pontificate of Pius X. lasted but eleven years, it is not too early to say that he has left a more permanent impression upon the history of the Church than any one of the great Popes, his predecessors, who have lived in the last two centuries. In the really striking encyclical which the Holy Father issued on October 4, 1903, within two months of his election, he threw down in some sense a challenge to the world. Not, most assuredly, in any vain-glorious spirit of self-confidence. It would be hard to find elsewhere a *nolo episcopari* which disarms prejudice more completely by its ring of simple truth than the opening sentences of this encyclical, wherein the writer bewailed the calamity that had befallen him, and adopted for his own the words of the great Anselm of Canterbury. "It matters not," he said, "to tell with what tears and with what earnest prayers we have sought to thrust from us this appalling burden of the pontifical office." And then he quotes the lament of St. Anselm, the scholar and former monk: "My tears bear witness, and my words, and the sound of sighing of my heart, the like of which I do not remember to have come from me in any sorrow until the day wherein it was seen that the heavy lot of the archbishopric of Canterbury had fallen upon me."

The crushing burden of office has been removed at last, although its grievous weight was felt to the very end. But despite the deep humility which not even scoffers and unbe-

lievers have ventured to style feigned, Pius X. lacked not the courage to raise aloft his "banner with a strange device," a device almost unexampled in the boldness of its challenge:

Nevertheless [he wrote in the same encyclical] since it has pleased Divine Providence to lift our lowliness to this plenitude of power, we raise up our mind "in Him who strengtheneth us," and as, borne up by God's might, we set our hand to the work, we proclaim that in bearing the Pontifical Office this is our one purpose—"to re-establish all things in Christ" (Ephes. i. 10) so that Christ may be all in all (Colos. iii. 11).

There will be some, no doubt, who measuring divine things by those that are human, will strive to penetrate the purpose of our mind and wrest it to earthly ends and the aims of parties. In order to cut off this vain hope of theirs we affirm with all the truth that is in us that in the midst of human society we desire to be nothing, and with the help of God we will be nothing, but the minister of God, whose authority we bear. The cause of God is our cause, to which we are determined to devote all our strength and our life itself. Wherefore if any ask of us a symbol to show forth the purpose of our mind, we shall ever give him this one alone—"to re-establish all things in Christ."

We do not hesitate to quote these words at length, for they form a far nobler epitaph than any which we could supply. How far ultimate success waited upon this heroic resolve, it will be for history to say. We can only testify that the promise made in the generous ardour of the first acceptance of the burden was never forgotten. To re-establish, to "make all things new" in Christ, was a purpose unswervingly pursued without thought of ease or personal advantage. To those of his own household, even more than to the Catholic world outside, Pius X. was a model of Christian fortitude and renunciation. This noble life has ended, at a time when his heroic example and patient strength were most needed, amid a cataclysm, the like of which the world has never known. Perhaps we may remember for our consolation that to all outward seeming the death of that Divine Master whose Vicar he was, and in whose footsteps he trod, left the first disciples and preachers of the Christian faith with no prospect in this world but that of utter failure. May it not be that the process of purification of which our late Holy Father dreamed and for which he toiled, is even now being brought to birth amid the clash of arms and the war of conflicting creeds?

THE COMRADES.

"NOS QUIDEM JUSTE."

Be near me on the heights of happiness,
These eager feet to strengthen or restrain,
And, watchful, at Thy hidden post, remain
Beside me, at the banquet of success.
In hours of common grief and daily stress,
Familiar work or tolerable pain,
What Heart but Thine should give me heart again?
What Hand but Thine upon my hand should press?

But if a darker fate on me be thrust—
Betrayal, scorn, rejection, Cross and whip—
Ah, then, I pray Thee, slack Thy Comrade-grip,
And veil awhile the Wounds in which I trust,—
Lest, in the glory of that Fellowship,
I should forget *my* punishment is just.

G. M. HORT.

Is "Science" returning to "Mediævalism"?

MANY a thinking Catholic has doubtless observed with satisfaction one striking tendency of modern thought. As we follow the development of scientific research and scientific theories, or the continual change in the prevalent notions of philosophy, or again, the growth or decay of the various religious systems outside the Catholic Church, we cannot but see by fresh signs each year that what were deemed the obsolete conclusions and opinions of mediæval thinkers are again coming into vogue. Tyndall used to speak of the "inexorable advance of man's understanding in the path of knowledge"—a phrase which has been echoed by countless writers and speakers since his day as it was uttered by many before him. And, though we must be on our guard against crediting all that is said in this connection, we cannot doubt that it is in the main truth. But it is the object of this paper to point out how Science, which progresses exultantly on her conquering way, "wresting from theology," according to Tyndall again, "the entire domain of cosmological theory," yet boasting that she is founding her conquests upon the sure basis of experimental research and confirming them by an appeal to experience, is, in so far as she carries out her boast, inevitably tending in many cases to revert to the ideas prevalent during the "drought of the Middle Ages," and held by the members of what Huxley styles the "great antagonist of science—the Roman Catholic Church."

In order to illustrate this tendency of recent science I purpose to select two examples of this reversion towards ancient conceptions. The one is connected with the problem of the constitution of matter, the other with the nature of life;¹ and in the first instance we may consider the changes that have come about in the physical and chemical theories.

¹ These two problems are admittedly on a totally different footing as regards their connection with the Catholic Philosophy of the Middle Ages. But this has not prevented the popular writers of whom we shall speak later from using both equally as evidence of the Church's alleged obscurantism.

regarding the possibility of "a transmutation of the elements."

Before the time of Boyle—who lived during the second half of the seventeenth century—the belief in the possibility of transmutation was the mainspring of chemical endeavour. To change or "transmute" a "base" metal, such as lead or iron, into the "noble" and precious metal gold, it was only necessary, so the alchemist held, to discover a certain substance known as the "philosopher's stone." This would effect all such transmutations by its own power. For several hundred years the chief problem of chemical research was the discovery of this "stone."¹ So obsessed were the alchemists with the idea of possessing the treasure that they endowed it in their imaginations with all kinds of magical properties. Besides offering the means of acquiring untold wealth, it was to be the "universal panacea" of all ailments, the *elixir vitae* also which would bestow perpetual youth upon its fortunate possessor. Whether the existence of these wonderful properties was really credited may very reasonably be doubted. But there can be no question about the belief in the possibility of transmutation. Large numbers of alchemists professed to have found the precious agent. Very many describe its appearance and physical properties. Some even give recipes—exceedingly ambiguous in their description it is true, and in execution doomed, of course, to failure—by which they say the substance may be prepared. So widespread indeed was the delusion that we read of Charles VII. of France employing the alchemist Le Cor to manufacture gold for him, and thus increasing, through his misplaced trust, the pecuniary difficulties of his treasury.²

To account for the possibility of transmutation thus accepted as a fact, theories as to the constitution of matter were formulated and handed down from one generation to another. Certain "elements" and "principles" were assumed to be contained in all substances in varying quantities, by which the physical and chemical properties of the complete substance were determined; and transmutation was held to be effected through the replacement of one "element" or "principle" by another.

In the time of Boyle, however, and largely due to his

¹ Thus Suidas in the eleventh century defines Chemistry as "the artificial preparation of silver and gold." *Vide Meyer, History of Chemistry*, p. 2.

² Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 35.

influence, not only did the belief in transmutation go out of fashion, but the meaning of the word element itself underwent a change. "Elements" were now described by Boyle as "not being made of any other bodies or of one another,"¹ and belief in the truth of this view spread eventually over practically the whole of the scientific world. Newton, who was a contemporary of Boyle, also appears to have favoured this new idea.² And to take an instance nearer our own times, John Dalton wrote in his notes for a course of lectures at the Royal Institution, "I should apprehend there are a considerable number of what may properly be called *elementary* principles which never can be metamorphosed one into another by any power we can control."³ Until quite recently, indeed, chemists and physicists accepted as true the "law of the conservation of the elements" that "elements and compounds stand in a definite relation to one another, so that from a compound which has been prepared from certain elements, *other* elements can never be obtained."⁴ And, "directly connected with this is the fact *that one element can never be transformed into another.*"⁵

In addition, the atomic theory as formulated by Dalton, and almost universally accepted in that form by the chemists of last century, gives expression to the same idea. Each elementary substance is represented by him as consisting of minute particles or "atoms," different for different substances, but of the same kind for the same substance, the essential attributes of which are indivisibility and freedom from change. They combine together to form "molecules," and the atoms in a molecule may be replaced by or added to other atoms, and a specifically different substance may in this way be produced. But the new members of the molecule must have been in existence before. A molecule or atom can in no way be *changed into* one of a different nature, and therefore the transmutation of elements is on Dalton's theory impossible.

In the seventies, the atom had acquired a seemingly settled position as "a manufactured article" (to use Sir

¹ *Sceptical Chymist*, part vi.

² Cf. *John Dalton*, by Sir H. E. Roscoe, p. 128.

³ Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 137.

⁴ Ostwald, *Principles of Inorganic Chemistry*, p. 45. Trans. Findlay.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 45. To this is added a note in the third (1908) edition which brings out very well the modern change of view. The note reads: "Recently one case of the transmutation of one element into another, viz. radium into helium, has been observed."

J. Herschel's phrase), that is, as something fixed and constant, that has remained and will remain unchanged. Thus Tyndall, in his celebrated Belfast address, quotes with approbation the words that Clerk-Maxwell had uttered before him, in which the molecules are described as "the foundation-stones of the material universe" which "remain unbroken and unworn."¹ And again, a year later, Clerk-Maxwell wrote in the *British Encyclopædia*: "In the present state of science we have strong reason for believing that in a molecule, or if not in a molecule, in one of its component atoms, we have something which has existed from eternity, or at least from times anterior to the existing order of nature."²

From the time of Boyle until recent years, that was the conviction of the scientific world. An uncertainty was admitted as to the number of the elements or as to the truly elementary nature of some substances generally looked upon as elements. Hypotheses were even occasionally put forward suggesting "an evolution of the elements," as for instance, in 1886, the "Protyle" theory of Sir William Crookes. But until the discovery of radium the views enunciated by Clerk-Maxwell were almost universally accepted, and chemists and physicists firmly believed in the "law of the conservation of the elements" and its corollary "that one element can never be transformed into another."

But after all, scientific creeds are not infallible. The prevalent opinions have now changed again. About a decade ago a substance recognized as the element helium was found to exist under such circumstances that it was impossible to doubt its production by the breaking up of another element, radium. This discovery by Sir William Ramsay and Professor Soddy in 1903 is well known, and has been many times recounted. It marks an epoch in the history of chemical science, for the transmutation of the elements is not now the chimera it was thought to be. It is true that the process is beyond our control and is therefore of little use to us for the transformation of lead into gold. But the fact of transmutation can no longer be denied. "We have seen it is actually going on in the world under our eyes."³ Sir William Ramsay and Professor Soddy even go to the extent of framing hypotheses, which if true, will enable us some day to con-

¹ British Association Reports, 1873, 1874.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edit. Art. "Atom."

³ Soddy, *Interpretation of Radium*, p. 233.

trol these processes; and then it seems there is no limit to what we may expect. "Looking backwards at the great things science had already accomplished, and at the steady growth in power and fruitfulness of scientific method, it could scarcely be doubted that one day we should come to break down and build up elements in the laboratory, as we now break down and build up compounds."¹ "It cannot be denied," says Professor Soddy again, "that, so far as the future is concerned, an entirely new prospect has been opened up. . . . It is a legitimate aspiration to believe that he (Man) would attain the power to regulate for his own purposes the primary fountains of energy which Nature now so jealously conserves for the future."² "If these hypotheses be just," writes Sir William Ramsay, "then the transmutation of elements no longer appears an idle dream. The philosopher's stone will have been discovered, and it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that it may lead to that other goal of the philosophers of the dark ages—the '*elixir vitæ*.'"³

Leaving however these "legitimate aspirations," we may pass on to our second example of the return of scientific thought to ancient views—that seen in the increasing acceptance by biologists of the theory of "Vitalism." There are many forms of this theory, differing in detail and nomenclature with the knowledge, the inclinations, and the originality of the exponent. But the essential features are always the same. All genuine vitalists hold the fundamental (and indeed the only necessary) doctrine that life is not the outcome solely of the chemical and mechanical properties of the material organs, but is to be ascribed to the presence of some special principle or energy in the living organism over and above the chemical and mechanical forces. The principle itself has received many names. Aristotle and the Scholastic philosophers called it a "soul." More recent investigators have given it such names as "genetic energy," "growth force," "biotic energy," "entelechy," "vital force," "vital principle." But under all this variety of nomenclature the thing designated remains essentially the same, the difference is merely one of terminology. We have hence chosen that term which seemed to us most suggestive, namely, "vital principle." The vital principle is in fact the principle which gives to a living being its "life."

¹ Soddy, *op. cit.* p. 231.

² *Ibid.* pp. 249, 250.

³ *Essays*, p. 191.

It is not our present object to bring forward any arguments to prove the existence of the vital principle.¹ Our intention as before is to indicate the changes that have occurred in the general attitude of biologists towards this doctrine. Before the time of Descartes, philosophers were, as might perhaps be expected, pronounced vitalists in their opinions on the question of life. Certainly there can be no possible doubt as to the doctrine of the Catholic philosophers with regard to the nature of man; for the existence of the soul in man as a substantial principle of a spiritual nature, separable from the body and destined to survive it, is the teaching of the Catholic Church. But in addition to this, the opinion that there existed, not only in animals but in the lowest kinds of plants, that which the Scholastic Philosophers called a "corporeal soul," had few if any opponents during that period."²

With Descartes however was inaugurated the movement against Aristotelianism and Scholasticism which has endured down to our own day. He was a mathematician and a philosopher, and his influence has been wide and far-reaching in both these branches of knowledge. But he also held theories on the subject of physiology. "At the middle of the seventeenth century," says Dr. Haldane, Professor of Physiology at Oxford,³ "about the time of Descartes, rapid progress was being made in physics and chemistry, and the work of the human anatomists of the Italian schools, together with Harvey's discovery of the circulation, afforded material for vigorously pushing forward physico-chemical speculations in physiology." It was therefore not wonderful that Descartes should have assimilated some of these views. As a Catholic he believed of course in the existence of a human soul, but for him the human soul was a kind of superman, resident in the pineal gland, whence it directed the operations of the material body as a pilot or captain directs the operations in a ship. And with regard to the lower animals, these were in Descartes' view "merely machines so ingeniously constructed that the various impressions always meet with appropriate responsive movement, although no conscious state intervenes."⁴

¹ For such we would refer the reader to the works of any vitalist. Cf. especially *What is Life?* by Sir B. Windle.

² For a proof of this statement, if any is needed, we would refer the reader to Father Maher's *Psychology*, chap. xxv. and Supplement A; also to the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, Art. "Life."

³ *Nineteenth Century*, 1898, ii. p. 401.

⁴ Maher, *Psychology*, p. 582.

It is easily seen how these doctrines, coupled with the spirit prevalent among the scientists of the age, came to develop into a materialistic philosophy of life. Materialism was in one direction what Idealism was in the other—the logical outcome of Cartesianism. Yet logical consequences are not at once embraced, and for a considerable time the mechanical theory made but little progress among physiologists or mankind at large. It is only when we come to the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century that we meet with the anti-vitalistic movement which acquired such a hold on the minds of biologists.

What this hold was, and what in many cases it still is, a couple of typical quotations may suffice to show. Thus, we have Huxley's word for it that since "we are all agreed that consciousness is a function of matter . . . that particular tenet must be given up as a mark of Materialism";¹ and Le Dantec also affirms that "between life and death the difference is of the same order as that which exists between a phenol and a sulphate, or between an electrified body and a neutral body."²

But here again the prevalent opinions have undergone a change. While some men were thus sounding the death knell of the vital principle, Professors Driesch, Reinke, Wilson, and others, have been carrying on researches in the method of the formation and growth of organisms, their reproduction and regeneration. The progress and results of these experiments, performed in so careful and truly scientific a manner has led an ever-increasing number of biologists to recede from the position which some years ago was regarded as the only position worthy of a scientist, and to adopt the essential elements of Vitalism, or as some prefer to call it, Neo-vitalism.

Professor von Bunge thus sums up the present position: "I think the more thoroughly and conscientiously we endeavour to study biological problems the more are we convinced that even those processes which we have already regarded as explicable by chemical and physical laws are in reality infinitely more complex, and at present defy any attempt at a mechanical explanation."³ Numerous other wit-

¹ *Controverted Questions*, p. 226, ed. 1892.

² *Nature and Origin of Life*, p. 5.

³ Cf. Professor J. A. Thompson in the *Hibbert Journal*, Oct. 1911, and Jan. 1912, where he advocates very strongly the vitalistic position.

nesses might also be brought forward; as, for instance, Professor Driesch himself,¹ or Dr. Haldane,² or Professor Wilson, the great authority on the living cell,³ or a host of others. Then, too, the pronounced protest of the best informed men against the address of Professor Schäfer at the British Association meeting in 1912 was a most notable indication of the change of view; and if more is needed, I may take these words from the corresponding address of Sir Oliver Lodge at the last meeting of the Association. "Life," he says, "introduces something incalculable and purposeful amid the laws of physics. . . . We see only its effects, we do not see life itself." Or again, in the discussion on Professor Moore's paper in the Botanical section, Sir Oliver Lodge asserted once more that he "regarded life as of a higher order" than matter, and Dr. Leonard Hill spoke in express terms of the "living principle."⁴

It will therefore be seen that in the case of this fundamental problem of biology as in the profound philosophical question of physical chemistry regarding the constitution of matter, the pendulum of scientific thought is swinging back towards the notions prevalent in the middle ages. Many other instances of this reversion to older ideas might indeed have been brought forward. In the realms of philosophy, Aristotelianism—the foundation of the philosophy of St. Thomas—after a period of disfavour lasting for several centuries, has for the past quarter of a century been steadily moving towards popularity. In inner spiritual experience, men are sensible of the need of that personal and intimate side of religion which has been denied them ever since they abandoned the Catholic Church; and misguided and pathetic as are their efforts to repair the loss by the various forms of false mysticism which have recently acquired such unexpected popularity, yet this too is something of a return or attempted return to the almost forgotten aspirations of their forefathers. But we need not dwell any longer on these instances. What we have quoted will probably be sufficient for our purpose. We may therefore pass on to examine what seems to be the particular significance of these movements so noticeable at the present day.

¹ *Gifford Lectures*, 1907.

² Cf. article above cited, also *Life and Mechanism*.

³ *The Cell in Development and Inheritance*.

⁴ *Times* Report, Sept. 11 and 17, 1913. For further evidence on this head see the article by Rev. J. Scoles on "Vitalism" in *THE MONTH* of October, 1912.

We have already drawn attention to that conviction of an essential distinction between chemical elements which existed in the minds of scientists before the discovery of radio-activity, as also to that conviction of the truth of the mechanical theory of life which was until recently the opinion commonly adopted by biologists. Now, among the popular exponents of science, among those, that is to say, who make it their business to express in popular form the deductions (or what they imagine to be the deductions) drawn from experiment by the leaders of scientific thought, these convictions were accompanied by an intolerant dogmatism that treated with contempt every view other than their own.

The quantities of scornful invective that were hurled against the unfortunate "vital principle" should have been sufficient to build its tomb many times over. "No biologist with a reputation to lose would think of defending it" (Fiske), only "scientific Rip van Winkles" held by it (Huxley), it "no longer figured in the scientific vocabulary of science" (Huxley), it was one of those fictions of the Scholastics, invented to account for the phenomena of whose explanation they were ignorant, "the word 'vital' might be omitted from our vocabulary" (Burdon Sanderson), briefly—the whole notion of a "vital principle" was "mediæval," superstitious, it savoured of the "dark ages" and was an abiding monument of the obscurantism of the Catholic Church.

The alchemist and his researches were favoured with an equal share of contempt. His attempts to transmute one element into another were looked upon as utterly unscientific and absurd—more absurd indeed than the attempt to obtain living beings from non-living matter (the possibility of which was held to be a "logical necessity" for certain Monistic philosophies). He was ridiculed as a simpleton or pitied as an ignoramus when he was not condemned as a deceitful rogue. Worse than this, he and his misdemeanours were invariably asserted to be due to the influence of the Catholic Church. To her were ascribed those *a priori* methods of philosophy according to which, it was said, men "were guided in their views by their opinion rather of what *ought to be* than what *is*,"¹ and which were described as the ruin of all science. She was "the great antagonist of the man of science," as Huxley described her in his *Lay-Sermons*.

¹ Ramsay, *Essays*, p. 21.

She was afraid of discovery. She captured the minds and intellects of all her children and caused them to accept without questioning what she taught them of the world around them. It was only when Europe was released from her thralldom that the antiquated theories were abandoned and progress commenced.

In other quarters a different method of attack was used. The philosophy and theology of the Catholic Church in the middle ages required, it was here assumed, the support of the scientific theories of the time; these theories alone were compatible with her doctrine. The Scholastic Philosophy was the support of her theology, while—as regards the great divisions of the philosophy itself—the Natural theology, it was alleged, was based upon an ignorance of the laws of nature, the Psychology upon the crudest animistic conceptions, and the Cosmology (or that part of philosophy which deals with material bodies) upon the fantastic hypotheses of alchemy. But such foundations, it was then triumphantly argued, have been destroyed by modern science, these theories have now been abandoned. Therefore, not only are the Church and modern science antagonistic, but the Church's theology is now deprived of its necessary support, and in consequence must crumble into ruins.

Such are the inferences, either explicit or implicit, in most of the assaults on the Catholic Church that are to be found in the current literature of popular science. Now if we are to draw the correct conclusions from these arguments, clearness respecting the question here involved is of the greatest importance. To what extent, we may ask, *was* the Scholastic Philosophy dependent upon mediæval science? And, in using the term "science" we must be careful to observe that mediæval science was very different from science as understood nowadays. Modern science may be defined as an organized body of knowledge of phenomena gained by what is generally called the "scientific method," that is, by the method of experiment, hypothesis, and the testing of hypotheses. Mediæval science on the other hand was far from being thus organized. The knowledge drawn from actual experience was incomplete and disconnected. In addition, the method used was excessively deductive in form. There was little systematic experimenting, and conclusions were chiefly drawn from hypotheses founded upon superficial and incorrect observations and handed down traditionally

from one generation to the next.¹ If then the statement is made that Scholastic Philosophy was based upon mediæval science, this must necessarily mean that the most important theses of that philosophy rest upon these hypotheses as their main grounds.

Now on the most general and superficial view it should be at once obvious that such could not have been the case. The fundamental questions of philosophy—particularly of a philosophy so thoroughly metaphysical as is that of Scholasticism—are essentially far more profound and more nearly ultimate than those with which science has to deal; in a word—the fundamental doctrines of a metaphysical philosophy transcend all scientific theories. There may indeed be comparatively unimportant details—off-shoots as it were—the decisions on which are affected by the scientific knowledge or opinions of the time. Such for instance would be the problem as to whether the heavenly bodies are moved directly by intelligent agents or not, or the more sublunary controversy as to whether colours exist *as* colours in an external object. But it makes very little difference in which way we decide such matters as these. In the really important questions, the questions for instance as to the existence and attributes of God, the spiritual nature of the human soul with its future destiny, the freedom of the human will, the character and grounds of moral obligation, the possibility of attaining truth, and the validity of human knowledge, as well as those problems which belong to General Metaphysics, such as the nature of the concept of Being or the doctrine of potency and act—such questions, which are argued from the very first principles of human knowledge, are as wholly independent of contemporary scientific opinion as is the truth that two and two make four.² As the multiplication-tables remain true whatever be our hypothesis with regard to the numerical laws of heredity or the number of molecules in the universe, or with regard to the velocity of light or of an

¹ So much at all events has been hitherto generally admitted by loyal supporters of the Scholastic Philosophy. But the surprising results of the recent researches of Prof. Duhem into the history of scientific work during the Middle Ages bids fair to effect a revolution in long-accepted views in this field of knowledge. See P. Duhem, *Etudes sur Léonard da Vinci*, 3rd Series, and also the able article of Dr. Vance in *THE MONTH* for March of the present year, where the results of these researches are summarized.

² Even in the less important, and by no means certain, theory of *matter and form*, which some would assert was invented to account for transmutation, the grounds for its adoption go far deeper than such doubtful hypotheses, for they are of a purely metaphysical nature.

alpha-particle; so the truth of the existence of God is unaffected when we show that the earth moves round the sun, and the existence of the soul is still a fact whatever may be our knowledge of the laws of chemistry and physics. The same obviously holds good in a far higher degree for the truths discussed in theology, since theology treats of matters either directly revealed or derived from revelation.

We say then that though Scholasticism may sometimes deal with the same questions which modern science takes it upon itself to decide, and though in some unimportant and, not unfrequently, trivial details, the old Scholastics were influenced in their decisions by the scientific opinions of the time; yet in those subjects which form the body of Catholic philosophic doctrine and which are of especial moment for Catholic theology, the essential evidence for the theses was wholly independent of the prevalent theories of science. It follows therefore immediately that Catholic philosophy and theology will remain unmoved whatever theories are held by the scientists of the age, and that even the complete abandonment of all the scientific hypotheses of the middle ages leaves Catholic philosophy and theology in their essentials undisturbed.

Consequently, when our adversaries argue that the Church and Science are antagonistic, or that Catholic theology has been shown to be false, and when they base their argument firstly upon the assumption that Scholastic Philosophy and the mediæval scientific theories were inseparably connected, and secondly upon the statement that those theories are now exploded and rejected, it is manifest that they are arguing from premisses which are altogether erroneous. We have seen that Scholastic Philosophy was *not* inseparably connected with the scientific theories of the middle ages. The main theses of that philosophy are based upon reasoning of an essentially different nature, they are truths of an eminently higher order. There is therefore no ground for the assertion that Catholic theology and modern science are antagonistic, or that modern science has shown the Church's teaching to be false.

But we can now say more than this—and here is the conclusion that needs to be emphasized. Not only is the argument of our opponents untrue for the reason that there is no essential connection between Mediæval Science and Scholastic Philosophy. That has *always* been the case, no less

in the time of Huxley and Tyndall than it is at present. But now, in addition, the enemies of the Church cannot even maintain that the mediæval theories have been abandoned. On the contrary, modern science, as I have shown, is now returning towards some of those theories again, not indeed blindly, but with full deliberation and in the light of her own researches. For every reason, then, the asserted antagonism between science and religion and the alleged victory of science over theology are proved to be unfounded and false suppositions.

Scientists condemned mediæval theology on account of the scientific beliefs of the theologians. May we hope that they will at least stop to consider the claims of the Church's theology now that even the science of her past theologians is being restored to favour?

B. G. SWINDELLS.

BEATÆ MEÆ DOMINÆ.

I come within the cloister of your plan,
 Knowing your love, its purity, its fear
 Of lacking in a duty to the man
 That is in me. But I am very near
 The flame of your desire. I feel the grace
 That urges ardour to the seeing point.
 For you have found the secret dwelling-place
 Of God in man. Your bounties do anoint
 The Christ Who is imprisoned in His poor.
 My manhood dares be jealous, and its pride
 Would drive a hundred rivals from the door;
 But Christ in me says "thank you" to His bride.

ARMEL O'CONNOR.

The Franciscan Order and its Branches.

II.

HOW many there are who, reading and re-reading the early Franciscan legends, fall under the spell of their indescribable charm, and then, turning to the Order, exclaim, "Alas! how different from what St. Francis meant it to be!" But they labour under the same misconception as those do who are fond of contrasting the highly organized later Church with "the primitive simplicity of the Gospel." The same spirit may find very varied means of expression, and we must beware of placing as a norm for the whole what is really an ideal for the individual. The Church grew from the little beginnings which Christ founded into a fully formed and living body competent to deal with all the varied problems which make up the world's history. It could never have fulfilled its mission without expansion, development and close organization, which at most are but dimly foreshadowed in the writings of the New Testament. So, in exactly the same way, the Franciscan Order, under God's guiding Providence, grew into a great and organized body very different in system from the primitive Franciscan groups, with aims which differed greatly from the ideals expressed in the early legends, but with the same vital spirit embodied in the union of the active and contemplative life. If the Order was to live, growth was necessary, and growth always implies a certain change of form. However, just as the Gospels do not contain the Canon Law of the Church, but put forth the ideal for the individual Christian, so in a very true sense we may say that the early Franciscan legends, and even, to a certain extent, the exhortations of St. Francis himself, were never meant to indicate lines of corporate development, but to embody an ideal for the individual friar and to stimulate his zeal and his love.

Elias of Cortona, the famous Vicar-General of St. Francis and the second Minister-General of the Order, certainly

grasped the need of organization, and in so far as he put the Order on an organized basis his work was good, and apparently had the full support of the Pope, Gregory IX. Gregory had ever been a true friend to St. Francis, and he did not wish to see his great work perish through lack of co-ordination and method. The fault of Elias was, of course, that he went much too far and much too quick; and his private life was scandalously un-Franciscan. He either did not conceive or did not wish to admit the possibility of a middle way between an impracticable spirituality and downright relaxation, and so, following out his own principles, he took his stand with the Laxists.

The period of wide-spread relaxation mentioned above covered roughly the fourteenth century, for St. Bonaventure died in 1274, and by 1400 the Observant movement was in full vigour. Of course all through this period the note of sanctity was not wanting to the Order, as its annals testify, but as a general rule the Conventuals, in so far as the name then stood for a seriously lax observance of the Rule, were in the ascendant.¹

We have a curious picture of an Italian Franciscan of this period incidentally drawn for us by a certain Francesco Malevolti, in his deposition at the process for the canonization of St. Catharine of Sienna.²

There were at that time [he writes] in the city of Sienna, two religious very influential and of great renown. One was called Brother Gabriel of Volterra of the Order of Friars Minor, Master of Sacred Theology, of whom it was said that there was no man in the whole Order so mighty for learning and preaching as he was; and who was at that time Minister Provincial. . . .

The other was an Augustinian. We are told that both, doubting the genuineness of St. Catharine's sanctity, went to visit her, in order "to shut up her mouth and put her to shame." However,

wonderful to relate [continues Malevolti], these two great pillars were forthwith cast to the earth; these two wolves became tender lambs, so immediately were they changed to the contrary of what they had been before. The first-named, Master Gabriel,

¹ Even in England and Scotland the fervent beginnings gradually gave place to relaxation, especially in the matter of receiving fixed revenues. Those who suffered for the faith with such constancy during the sixteenth century were the Observants, who came first to Scotland in 1447, and then to England in 1463.

² Cf. *The History of St. Catharine of Sienna*. A. T. Drane, O.S.D.

had previously lived in such pomp that in his Convent, out of three cells he had made for himself one; and furnished it in such sumptuous style as would have been superfluous for a Cardinal. There was a fine bed with a canopy and curtains round about it, all of silk; and so many other precious things, that, reckoning with them the books, they were worth not less than a hundred ducats.

Such being his previous habits, it is consoling to know that Brother Gabriel was completely converted by the saintly daughter of St. Dominic. We learn that he retained nothing in his cell but "what might suffice for one poor observant brother," and that afterwards, still as Provincial, he went to the Convent of Santa Croce in Florence, "where he lived in great fervour, and appointed himself to serve the brethren in the refectory at meal-time, and exercised many other acts of humility." This at least was no "lukewarm" age: men were either "cold or hot."

We must not forget however the century in which the lustre of the Seraphic Order was thus dimmed. It was, as we saw, the fourteenth, the century of the Avignon Popes, in which so many of the ministers and pastors of the Church were steeped in worldliness and often in vice; when, to use the forcible expression of St. Catharine, those who should have been "the temples of God" had become "the stables of swine." It was for the Church a century of such internal weakness, such spiritual lethargy as to culminate in the Western Schism so rightly spoken of as a rending of Christ's seamless robe. The terrible ravages of the Black Death must certainly be numbered among the material causes of the evils which afflicted the Church and the Religious Orders during this time. Many of the latter, threatened with almost entire extinction, were compelled to recruit their numbers haphazard and without care. The evil then admitted bore and continued to bear terrible fruit. Then the Hundred Years' War acted as a more or less continuous source of disorganization and decay in religious life.¹

Among the Franciscans there was a further special reason for the general lack of observance. The famous controversy on the poverty of Christ which arose between the Franciscans and Dominicans during the pontificate of John XXII.

¹ The Carthusians, however, seem to have done even more than pass unscathed through this dark period, for the fourteenth century was for them one of splendid development. (Cf. *St. Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*. F. A. Lefebvre.)

and which was carried on with a violence and intensity, to us of the twentieth century almost incomprehensible, gave occasion for the issue in 1322 of a papal declaration, *Ad conditorem*, in which Pope John XXII. denied that the Holy See had any more right over the property of the Franciscans than it had over the property of the other Mendicant Orders, and forbade the use of procurators acting for the friars in the Pope's name, unless a special permission had been obtained. He thus undid the good work he had himself accomplished five years previously, when dealing with the Spirituals, and repudiated the principles upheld by his predecessors, who had allowed that the dominion of whatever property the friars might acquire was to be vested in the Holy See. Such a disavowal of a principle which had safeguarded the observance of the Rule whilst allowing for material expansion, was welcomed by the lax party in the Order as a tacit permission to hold property henceforward in their own name. They proceeded consequently without scruple to acquire landed property yielding annual revenues.¹ It was against such a spirit as this betokened that the Observants had to struggle during the latter half of the fourteenth century.

On the whole then it is no matter for surprise that, during this period, the great majority among the sons of St. Francis did not rise above their surrounding level. If I might add yet another consideration, it is clear that, when Louis of Bavaria, in order to win sympathy in his contest with the Pope, took under his protection such of the strict section of the Order as were foolish enough to allow themselves to be ensnared, he did no good to the Order, nor, as the event proved, did he benefit his own cause.

It was not then till the opening of the fifteenth century that the Observants in Italy, France and the Spanish peninsula began steadily and rapidly to increase in numbers, and to form such a majority as to be able, a century later, to emancipate themselves entirely from their subjection to the Conventuals.

Let us turn now to treat in a little more detail of the Conventuals and the Capuchins. It must be remembered that originally the term Conventual was applied to those who lived together in convents, as opposed to those who were

¹ The Bull *Ad conditorem* was repealed by Pope Martin V. in 1428, and Apostolic Syndics, such as Pope Martin IV. had legislated for in his Constitution *Exultantes* of 1283, were restored.

either hermits proper, or who, with perhaps two or three companions lived together in very small houses or *eremitoria*. In this sense St. Francis himself was a Conventual, and naturally all the early Generals of the Order were Conventuals.

Though almost from the very beginning there were relaxed Conventuals, it cannot have been till late in the fourteenth century, when the Observant movement was already well in progress, that the term Conventual can have been used to signify the relaxed Franciscans. For a considerable time it must have been impossible to draw a hard and fast line between those who did and those who did not observe the Rule strictly. They would be found together in the same convent, in the same Province, side by side in the Chapter gatherings. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, the Observants had made sufficient headway to be recognized as such by the Council of Constance, which accorded a large measure of independence to certain convents in France wherein was maintained *stricta observantia regularis*; but the term *Conventual* in its modern signification as implying a mitigated observance does not occur in any official document prior to 1431. In that year Eugenius IV. allowed the Observants in Crete and Greece to elect a Vicar who was to be independent of the Conventual Minister Provincial.¹

Prior to 1517, of the almost innumerable Papal constitutions on Franciscan matters, perhaps two may be singled out, as in an especial way benefitting the Conventual movement. The first, issued in 1322, I have already mentioned, viz. John XXII.'s Constitution, *Ad conditorem*. The second was the Brief, *Ad statum*, issued in August, 1430, by Pope Martin V., which, in spite of the reforms agreed to in a General Chapter in July of the same year, now declared that those houses which were already possessed of regular incomes, or which might acquire them in the future, were lawfully entitled to retain them. Such a declaration drew sharp the line of cleavage between Observants and Conventuals, so that little hope remained of uniting the two branches. Earnest efforts were made, it is true, some years later, during the pontificate of Callixtus III., but they came to nothing. Then, as we have seen, in 1517 the Conventuals were established as a separate body with a distinct General.

¹ Cf. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, t. x., pp. 495, 496.

Now it seems that speaking generally the Conventuals have followed their Founder, St. Francis, as closely as most other Religious Orders have followed their founders. I think it is correct to say that most of the early founders of Religious Orders, before the time of St. Ignatius, wished their followers to live as far as possible without revenues, but that, in course of time, their followers have found it necessary to accept them. The real, substantial and permanent difference between the Conventuals and the other Franciscans is that the former, as a body, are allowed to have fixed revenues, whereas the latter are not. It follows from this that, of the older Orders, the Franciscans have adhered as strictly as possible to the original ideal of their Founder, and through them, rather than through the Conventuals,¹ has the great message of St. Francis, that of detachment from wealth, been delivered to men. It is precisely this reputation for poverty which has made the Franciscans always a popular Order and which has proved for them a source not only of spiritual blessings but also of material advantages.² Nevertheless, since the same authority which gives force to the Rule gives force also to its mitigation, it is, of course, undeniable that the Conventuals are truly followers of St. Francis; as truly as the Carmelites to-day are followers of St. Theresa or the Dominicans of St. Dominic.

The Capuchins³ branched off from the Observants, as constituted by Pope Leo X. about the year 1525. The movement, like many which had preceded it, was, at its commencement, an effort to return to the primitive system of small houses and absolute simplicity of life which character-

¹ Yet in certain instances, *e.g.*, in pre-Reformation Scotland, not only the Observants but also the Conventuals were remarkable for their poverty. Cf. *The Scottish Grey Friars*. W. Moir Bryce. (1909.) The evidence collected by Mr. Bryce has been ably summarized by Father Thurston, S.J., in *THE MONTH*, December, 1909, "A Birthday Gift to the Sons of St. Francis."

² An interesting example of the popularity of the Observants occurred during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV. (1471-1484). Sixtus was a Conventual, and intended to merge the Observants entirely into the Conventuals. So successful, however, were the Observants in influencing the very highest personages in their favour, that the Pope was forced to desist from his intention. "I thought," he said, "I had to deal with some mendicant friars, and behold, all the kings of the earth are upon me." Among these "kings" we find our own Edward IV., who even threatened to expel every Conventual from his kingdom if the Pope attempted to execute any of his contemplated measures to the detriment of the Observants. Cf. Wadding, *Ann. Min.*, t. xiv., p. 2.

³ For much that is here set down concerning the Capuchins, I am indebted to Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C.

ized the first few years of Franciscan organization. It was in its general lines and development—that is, apart from individual motive and action—a protest, not so much against direct relaxation, as against the system of large conventual establishments with the completeness of monastic observance. This feature of the Capuchin movement must be borne in mind if we are to escape the common error of supposing that the eremitical life was the essential aim of the early Capuchins. It is true that the Papal constitutions which sanctioned and explained the new institute seem to give it a purely eremitical character. Thus Clement VII., in his Bull, *Religionis zelus*, speaks of the Capuchins as desirous *eremiticam vitam ducere, et quantum humana patitur fragilitas, Regulam beati Francisci observare*, and again, *secundum Regulam prædictam, vitam eremiticam ducere*, and finally the Pope communicates to them the privileges of the Camaldolese hermits. Such expressions as these witness to the great stress laid by the first Capuchins on the eremitical life as contrasted with the life in large cloisters, to the ideal they cherished of returning to the primitive Franciscan hermitage as opposed to the later convent. But this ideal must not be taken to exclude active missionary work such as St. Francis himself had undertaken. The very words of the Bull cited above really make this clear, for we read there that the Capuchins are to lead an eremitical life, but *secundum prædictam Regulam, i.e.*, according to the Rule of St. Francis, which expressly legislates for missionary work. What seems clear, however, is that the Capuchin movement, being a protest, partook of the nature of all protests, which, at their inception, unconsciously, but almost invariably, take up a more advanced position than that which they ultimately mean to retain. The great aim of the early Capuchins was to shake themselves free from the system of large houses and substitute *eremitoria*. This was the concession they were bent on winning from the Holy See. The missionary side of their future life drops for the time being into the background. It is never expressly forbidden them, it is simply passed over in silence. Later, however, once the main objective was achieved and initial difficulties got over, the Capuchins began to organize their missionary work. Even their very first Constitutions of 1529,¹ whilst laying down, it is true, that they are not to live in cities, yet do not oblige them to live so

¹ *Constitutiones Alvacinae*. Cf. Boverius, *Annales Minorum Capucinatorum*, t. I.

far away as to preclude their ministering to the people. Moreover, the office of preaching is specially legislated for. The houses are evidently to be small, for twelve is the maximum number of Religious which they are to contain, and, where the convent is really secluded, with presumably little occasion for external work, the community is not to exceed eight. This union then of the preaching life with the retired and simple life in small convents, the former being, so to speak, based on the latter—an ideal akin to that for which the early Spirituals had contended—seems to have been the original ideal of the Capuchins. Later on however, the ideal had to give way somewhat before the exigencies of the day. Early regulations, found by experience to be a hindrance to missionary work, had to be given up, and the inevitable pressure, exerted by the necessity of learning and the consequent necessity of houses of study, soon began to make itself felt. However, substantially speaking, one can say that the ideal still exists and, as such, is the only surviving difference of any importance between the Capuchins and the Friars Minor.

After the union effected by Leo X. in 1517, the Observants speedily split up again into various branches so as, by the middle of the sixteenth century,¹ to comprise four distinct groups, subject however to one Minister-General, viz., the Observants proper, the Alcantarins or Discalced, the Recollects and the Reformed.²

Is there any reason clearly assignable for so rapid an undoing of the work of Leo X? The best way of arriving at a solution to this question is, I think, to take a brief view of the state of the Observants immediately after 1517, and then to see to what extent the new branches are to be regarded as desirable reforms.

It cannot be denied that after and even, to a certain extent, owing to the union of 1517, the Observants were in many countries far from being in a wholly satisfactory condition. Their rapid advance was, to a certain extent, a ficti-

¹ To be strictly accurate it should be noted that, in spite of the efforts and declarations of Leo X., the *Clarens*, the *Amadeans*, and one or two other lesser congregations did not definitely come to an end till the time of St. Pius V. Thus the *Alcantarins*, so called after St. Peter of Alcantara, who was their great master, were really a more or less continuous survival of the *Barefooted Friars* or *Discalceati* who were to be found in Spain prior to Leo X.'s time.

² The Capuchins obviously find no place in this grouping, because, though springing from the Observants, they became almost immediately entirely independent of them.

tious one, caused less by the accession of new members than by the transition to them of Conventuals, which was sometimes so extensive as to be a source of relaxation. Houses and even entire Provinces were affiliated at a time, and the newcomers, instead of being moulded into the Observant spirit, brought with them their own ideas and, however unconsciously, instilled them into others.

Another considerable source of evil was the arrangement introduced in 1517 by which the Minister-General of the Observants was to be chosen alternately from the Cismontane and Ultramontane Provinces.¹ However equitable at first sight, such an arrangement only accentuated a danger, always latent in large cosmopolitan bodies, of one nation becoming pitted against another. In practical working it meant that the Minister-General was always either a Spaniard or an Italian subject to the Spanish rulers. Such a state of things was a very natural source of discontent among the brethren of other nationalities, and so tended to weaken the central authority in the Order.

Again, a powerful cause of disunion lay in the complete lack of uniform legislation. It is true that Constitutions, intended for the whole Order, were drawn up in 1518, but unfortunately they were never accepted. Being very similar to the *Barcelona Constitutions*, drawn up by the Ultramontane family in 1451, the Cismontane family had rejected them as unsuitable, and in 1529, in a General Chapter at Parma drew up Constitutions of its own. The Ultramontane family continued to hold those of Barcelona, which in 1522 were drawn up in a new form by its own Chapter assembled at Toulouse.

To crown everything came the Protestant Reformation, bringing in its train suppression of religious houses and widespread disorganization.

The state of the Observants being, under these circumstances, far from perfect, the question arises as to how far the new families which speedily sprang up, embodied attempts to *reform* the Order as represented by the Observants. It seems clear that the Alcantarins did not aim at influencing the Order as a whole, but simply at establishing themselves as

¹ The distinction between *Cismontane* and *Ultramontane* was first introduced in the course of the fifteenth century. The intention was to give the Observants as much self-government as possible under two *Vicars-General* of their own, without however destroying the essential unity of the Order, which still remained subject to one Minister-General.

a distinct family with a way of life proper to themselves.¹ The Recollects, however, and the Reformed must be regarded as efforts to reform the Order, but as to how far they were either necessary or justified it is extremely difficult to decide. Subsequent history inclines one to think that, had they remained among the Observants, the undoubted excellency of their work would not have been lessened, whilst the general state of the Observants in the sixteenth century does not appear to have been such as to justify any step calculated to bring disunion, with all its consequent evils, into the Order. By the eighteenth century the four families had conformed themselves more or less to a common level, differentiated chiefly by distinctive customs and shapes of the habit.² Time had long since closed up whatever wounds in the main body may once have called for cure, and nothing now remained but a house divided against itself. The fourfold division seriously weakened the efficiency of the Order; and in its missionary labours was this especially apparent, as the various branches mutually excluded each other. The Third Order also suffered. This, however, must not be taken as implying that the Order was vitally weak. On the contrary, though union would have meant greater strength, the Order, by the middle of the eighteenth century, had really reached its culminating point in external development. The surface, it is true, was often troubled by violent controversies, the work of restless agitators, who were careless of the discredit they were thereby bringing upon their brethren; but the real life of the Order must be looked for below the surface, in those men

¹ The same may also be said of the Capuchins. Curiously enough, however, the Capuchins soon became an independent body, whereas the Alcantarins, whose system was undoubtedly beyond the scope of the Rule, always remained subject to the General of the Observants.

² The second English Franciscan Province furnishes a good example of how little real difference lay behind these outward distinctions. The Province was officially spoken of as *Strictioris Observantia*. Thus the *Certamen Seraphicum*, written in 1649, speaks of the English martyrs as *Ord. FF. Min. strictioris observantia*; a title which Wadding (*Scriptores Ord. Min.*, p. 16) gives to the author himself of the *Certamen*, Angelus a S. Francisco. The house of the Province, however, at Douai seems always to have been called *Collegium FF. Min. Recollectorum Anglorum*. The truth seems to be that the two terms were convertible, for on p. 19 of the *Certamen* we read that Father John Gennings, in setting about the restoration of the English Province, *aliquos juvenes . . . secum duxit, atque in Conventu Iprensi, Provincia S. Josephi, pro patribus strictioris observantia, vulgo RECOLLECTIS nuper . . . erecta, collocavit*. The house on the Continent founded under Recollect auspices would naturally be *Recollect*, but in England the Friars seem to have clung to the name *Observant*, made illustrious by their predecessors.

who, true to the instinct and high ideals of St. Francis, carried on in silence and often in obscurity the great work of their Founder.

The close of the century offered a very different picture. The French Revolution and the political upheavals of that period only completed what the famous *Commission des Réguliers* in France, and Josephism in Austria and the Low Countries had already begun. Statistics show how much the Order suffered at this time; but, like every work of God, it raised its head once more when the storm had passed, and purged of much that had long been weakening the efficacy of its work, it recommenced its apostolate with renewed vigour. The desire for reunion, which had manifested itself as early as the seventeenth century, made itself felt again, and this time to good purpose. As we have seen, Leo XIII. in his Bull, *Felicitate quadam*, issued in 1897, united the four branches in the Observants to form the present Order of Friars Minor.

The history of every Religious Order is, in a smaller way, a repetition of the history of the Church. They have their periods of honour in the eyes of the world and of dishonour, periods of failure and of success, periods of fervour and of relaxation. Their ways lie, as St. Paul puts it, *per gloriam et ignobilitatem: per infamiam et bonam famam, quasi morientes et ecce vivimus*. If in this paper I have dwelt largely on the sadder and darker¹ side of Franciscan history, it is not, as we all know full well, that a brighter side is wanting; nay, we may almost say that it is this very brightness which, by contrast, darkens what, in itself, is but less bright. That great company of Franciscan saints and holy men and women, that continuous stream of missionaries and apostles, whose lives and labours fill so large a page in the history of the Church and of the world, are there to bear us witness of an inward life and strength which must be more than man can give, for—

Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, frustra vigilat qui custodit eam.

D. DEVAS, O.F.M.

¹ Sad, because divisions witness to an endless striving after lofty ideals difficult to reach, easy to recede from; dark, because divisions are, in the main, sources of weakness; but yet neither wholly sad nor wholly dark, for if there had been no striving and no divisions, there would have been no Observant Friars in England under Henry VIII.

THE FADED FLOWERS.

A few, poor, withered daisies fair,
Some wisps of snake-grass here and there,
A faded buttercup or two,
With violets blue
He brought to me, my boy of seven,
(Oh God, he's with Thee now in Heaven),
To soothe my aching heart, afraid
Lest I should chide his naughtiness
For that afar upon the meadows he had strayed,
Well knowing what distress
Was mine thereby.
And when with tearful eye
And sad, he waited there what I might say,
Forgetting hours of pain
In joy to have him near again,
I clasped him flowers and all, to kiss the tears away.

And now when darkness comes, I kneel
To ask that God's good angels keep
Sweet vigil round me while I sleep,
And that mine aching heart may heal;
And if dread death o'ertake me in the night,
The few, sere flowers my poor soul brings,
And colourless in Heaven's fair light,
May win God's ruth for all my wanderings.

E. P. TIVNAN.

How South Germany was saved to the Faith.

IN the *Nineteenth Century and After* for March, 1914, I attributed the origin of British newspapers to the battle of the Weissenberg, near Prague, fought on November 8, 1620; when James I.'s son-in-law, the "Winter King" of Bohemia, lost the throne he had usurped, and was compelled to fly to Holland. And I was then able to point to a newly-discovered volume of *corantos*, acquired by the British Museum in November, 1912, as having upset all that had been previously written about the date of commencement of English periodicals. In the course of reading through these *corantos*, I came across a passage which will be of interest to Catholics and may very well serve as a text, both for the description of a battle that has not been remembered as it deserves, and for its brief account of a saintly religious hero.

The passage to which I refer appears in a *coranto* under the date of July 28, 1621, as news received from Cologne in Amsterdam, and runs as follows (I leave it in its original spelling):

Some few dayes past, there came to Collen a holy Italian frier of the Woldendoers order of the Carmelites, whom the common people judgeth to be a prophet, because that he foretold the victory of the Emperor against the King of Bohemia, and obtained it by his fervent prayers. Hee is here received with so great devotion, that it is almost impossible to relate it, because that thoroughout the great presse of people, hee could not get with his horse litter through the streets of the Citie, whereupon some rubbed their Beads to his garments, others cut small peeces of his holy Cowle, and he that might kisse his hand esteemed himself most happy. In summa, all those that were creeple, deafe, blinde, dumbe, and diseased, came running to him; who, in time, may yet be cured.

Our Elector (the Archbishop of Cologne) having knowledge of his arrivall, came suddainly to him with great intreatings, and got the staffe of the holy man.

The Carmelite referred to in this passage was Dominic Ruzzola, known in religion as "Dominic of Jesus and Mary," of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, a Spaniard, born at Calatayud, in the Province of Aragon, on May 16, 1559.¹ He was one of that heroic band of romantic Spanish saints who, like St. Ignatius Loyola and his companions, sallied forth to set bounds to the so-called Reformation, with results that are visible in our own time.

Many of the legends about Father Dominic have great similarity to those about St. Aloysius; and, like Aloysius, Dominic dedicated himself to God in his boyhood. The Prior of the Carmelite Convent of Calatayud was his mother's brother, Francis Lopez, and when his father left him an orphan at the age of eight, Dominic entered his uncle's convent. Space will not permit me to tell of the many miracles he is said to have worked here, at Barcelona, at Valencia, and at Toledo and Madrid, at both of which last cities he became Prior; but, in the end, the fame of his sanctity reached Rome, and Pope Clement VIII. summoned him thither in 1604, keeping him in Italy until the time when, on May 13, 1617, Father Dominic became General of his Order.

About this time the Grand Duchy of Bavaria was in danger of falling, by inheritance, to a Protestant prince; for both the reigning Duke, Max, and his brother, Albert, were childless. Father Dominic's prayers to avert this calamity were sought by the Bavarian envoy at Rome, and the three sons and daughter, afterwards born to Duke Albert, were attributed to his intercession. With the fortunes of the Grand Duchy of Bavaria Dominic was ever after inseparably connected. It was owing to his advice that Duke Maximilian I., the Great, or the Catholic, as he is called, was committed to the care of the Jesuits and received so thorough a training that he became a pattern ruler when he succeeded to his Dukedom. Throughout his life Maximilian held Father Dominic in the highest veneration and was never satisfied unless he had him by his side to advise him. This is the reason why this venerable servant of God was the Duke's chaplain at the battle of the Weissenberg.

Another chaplain, but on the other side, deserves also a notice, for he too was connected with English journalism. Abraham Scultetus, or Schultz, was the Calvinist chaplain

¹ *Leben und Wirken des Dieners Gottes, Dominikus à Jesu Maria.* By Bonifacius Muller. Vienna, 1878.

to the Elector Palatine, Frederick. He was born, on August 24, 1566, at Grünberg in Schleswig, and died in exile on October 24, 1624, at Emden in Ost Friesland. The Catholic Church had no more bitter enemy than this man, who possessed some learning and very considerable ability. His thoroughly untruthful "Annals" of the Protestant Reformation formed the basis of the *Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* and *History of the Reformation*, issued weekly from 1679 onwards by Henry Care, Titus Oates's first journalistic supporter. Many of Scultetus's tales can be traced nowadays in the works of modern Protestant controversialists.

The Bohemian Protestants were not Calvinists, but Lutherans, who then retained most of the externals of the Catholic faith. Bohemia also contained the influential sect of the "Hussites" or "Utraquists," who, but for their distinctive heresy, that communion in both kinds was necessary to salvation, were not Protestants at all. Immediately after his master's entry into Prague, Scultetus, to the disgust of the Lutherans and open anger of the Hussites, set to work to "purge" the Cathedral and chapel of the Hradschin. Sacred vestments and service books were committed to the flames with every kind of profanation, altars were broken and levelled to the ground, and holy images or pictures broken or destroyed with every form of wanton insult that suggested itself to his followers. On the Sunday, December 12, 1619, after he had thus converted the Castle chapel into an abomination of desolation, Scultetus preached a sermon in it that was translated into most European languages. For his text he took the twentieth chapter of Exodus. The discourse was printed in England under the title of *A short information, but agreeable unto Scripture, of idol-images*. It was quite as much the outrages of the Calvinists as it was those of their allies, the Turks, that explain why it came to pass that, when the priest intoned the *Credo* at High Mass, throughout South Germany, every sword leapt from its scabbard and was flashed aloft.

Soon after the arrival of the "Winter King" in Prague, his son, Prince Rupert, was born, whom we remember so well as one of the generals of his uncle, King Charles I. At Rupert's baptism Scultetus officiated, and from the following account of the ceremony we can gather why the Calvinists set their hopes so high on the Elector Palatine. Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, I must premise, was another

Calvinist who was about to attempt to usurp the throne of Hungary. He was the friend of the Sultan, and the ally of the Turks, with whose religion the creed of the heresiarch of Geneva had so much in common. Gabor was a good soldier, but his great vice was drunkenness. After midday he is said to have invariably been unable to transact business. The account of Rupert's baptism, printed in England, runs as follows:

"Doctor Scultetus did preach, taking his text out of the 15 of John, 'I am the Vine,'" &c. . . .

Then a procession was formed, apparently to some room outside the Castle Chapel, and

At every entry or change of place, the trumpets sounded and the drums beat, till they came up to a stately marble table, whereon a basin of gold stood serving instead of a font (Scultetus had destroyed these) to dip the child in. The Count Turzo (Bethlen Gabor's proxy) held him in his arms all the Christening time, and gave him the name of Robert (*sic*) as intimating that the first Roman Emperor of his Majesty's family was so called; but, questionless, this was the direction of both the Councils and a policie of the Prince of Transylvania, to induce the people to conceive or apprehend that there might once again be Emperors from their now Bohemian King.

No better indication of the true ends of the Bohemian insurrection could have been given. With a Calvinist Emperor replacing the House of Hapsburg, the extermination of the Catholic religion would have been well in view, and Italy, in all probability, and the South German States to a certainty would have become Protestant. To these plans Father Dominic and his spiritual son, Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, now administered the *coup de grace*.

The Weissenberg is a hill 1,245 feet high, situated three and a half miles to the west of the city of Prague. It presents no attractions to the tourist and is but rarely visited nowadays. On it there is a church dedicated to Our Lady of Victories. When, on Sunday, November 8, 1620, the Imperial Army, under Tilly, Bucquoi, and Duke Maximilian came before it, after driving the Bohemians out of the town of Pilsen, they found the Bohemians, with two batteries of guns, strongly entrenched upon the hill, under the command of Christian of Anhalt. The Imperial Army was about 14,000 strong, and the Bohemians are said to have numbered about 1,000 less, but they had all the advantages of their

position and had well placed their cannon. On their side the Imperialists had about a dozen guns, termed the "Twelve Apostles."

Great doubt was entertained of the possibility of driving the Bohemians from their position, and, at a council of war, Bucquoi so resolutely opposed the idea of attempting to storm the Weissenberg that the plan was about to be abandoned, when Father Dominic appeared in their midst and bade them to attack and leave the result to God. In his hands he bore a picture of our Lady, out of which the Calvinists had gouged the eyes, in mockery, and exhibited it to them as a proof that such a foe could not have God's blessing. His eloquent appeal turned the scale, and the generals decided to attack at once, choosing for their battle cry, "*Heilige Jungfrau*" (Holy Virgin). No incident in the whole war is better authenticated than this, and it is evidently to this incident that the *coranto* I have cited refers. It was noted afterwards that the Gospel for the day contained the text, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," and, in the event, the text was taken to have been prophetic.

Maximilian commanded the centre of the Imperial Army, Tilly led the left wing, and Bucquoi, who had been wounded, with his lieutenant, von Tieffenbach, the right. In the centre floated Duke Maximilian's great banner with its picture of Mary, Protectress of the Catholic League. Every soldier wore a white armet, in order to distinguish friends from enemies. Among the volunteers fighting that day for the Catholic faith was the French philosopher, Descartes.

On the Bohemian side, Christian of Anhalt was the sole general of importance. Frederick, the usurper of the throne of Bohemia, not thinking that the Duke of Bavaria would dare to attack so strongly entrenched an army, was away in Prague, entertaining his father-in-law's, James I.'s, ambassadors at dinner—a fact which was afterwards remembered to his discredit.

At noon Tilly prepared for the attack and rode down the lines. First of all the Chaplain-General intoned the prayers before the battle and the whole army responded. On the previous day all the regiments had confessed and received Holy Communion. Then Tilly gave the signal for the attack by three cannon shot, and the army rushed forward to storm the heights.

Nevertheless, under the heavy thunder of the "Twelve Apostles," the foe remained steadfast on their hill, and when the Imperialists began to ascend the slopes, Christian of Anhalt took the offensive, descended to meet them and drove Tilly's men back in a disorderly rout. Apparently the Bohemians were about to be victorious all along the line.

Meanwhile Father Dominic, like another Moses, had been praying and watching the fight from a little distance apart, when Duke Maximilian ran to tell him that all was about to be lost. Taking his crucifix in his hand, and with a picture of Mary hanging from his side, the holy man rode into the thick of the fight, praying aloud to our Lady "that the victory might be to her heroes, the soldiers of Christ." Shot pierced his scapular, and even the picture that he carried, but there he remained, unhurt, until all was over and his presence had turned defeat into an annihilating victory.

Before the clock struck one, a hundred banners, ten guns, and a rich spoil fell into the hands of the Duke of Bavaria. Four thousand Bohemians lay dead upon the field, over a thousand more were drowned in attempting to flee across the River Moldau, and their total losses from one cause and another are said to have amounted to 9,000 men. On the Imperial side the total loss was about 1,000.

The Winter King arrived on the scene in time only to flee back to Prague for safety, and is said to have dropped his English "Order of the Garter" on the way. A common soldier picked it up and carried it to Tilly, who gave the man 1,000 thalers for it.¹ The net results of the battle remain visible to our own day. Bohemia, Hungary and South Germany in general are strongholds of the Catholic faith, and Calvinism, all the world over, is at its last gasp.

Father Dominic died in Vienna on Saturday, February 13, 1630, at the age of seventy years and ten months, having spent sixty-two years in the cloister and fifty-five as a professed Carmelite. The Emperor and the whole Imperial Court attended his funeral. He is said to have appeared to several persons at the time of his death and his holy relics have worked many miracles.

J. B. WILLIAMS.

¹ *Mercurie François*. Tome vi. p. 426. See also, for accounts of the battle, A. W. Schreiber's "Maximilian I. der Katholische" and Anton Gindely's "Berichte über die Schlacht auf dem Weissen Berge," in the *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, Band. xv. This contains the English Ambassador's account.

The Baltic Provinces.

So little is known in England about the Baltic provinces of Russia that the impressions of the writer in the two months she spent there this summer may not be devoid of interest. These provinces, though subject to Russian rule, are not really Russian at all, but German, with German customs and characteristics, and until lately the Russians interfered with them very little. They had their own schools and law-courts, and German was the language of the ruling class, an aristocracy known in history as the Baltic barons, few in number compared with the rest of the population, 160,000 as against 2,000,000 (the latter number has greatly increased of late years), chiefly Letts and Esthonians, whom they governed with a beneficent but despotic sway, having nothing in common with them and regarding them in the light of the beasts of the field, useful to till the ground and cultivate the earth. The position of this oligarchy was very similar to that of the English in India in the days of the East India Company, an alien race, holding its own by the force of superior civilization, and though not supported by the Government, yet left more or less to its own devices. They learnt the native language themselves, but did not trouble to teach their dependents German, an omission which they now bitterly regret, for the common language might have made a link at the time of the Revolution. The Russians have been wiser in this respect, and Russian is obligatory in the national schools. An Esthonian landlord must from his infancy be intimately acquainted with three languages, German, Esthonian and Russian. These are essential; French is added as a superstructure, but is not nearly as prevalent as in the rest of Russia.

In spite of their German nationality the Baltic barons were quite loyal to Russia, and held in high esteem at Court, and under Peter the Great and the two Empresses, Elizabeth and Catherine, they played a distinguished part in Russian history. Some of the greatest Russian Generals came

from the Baltic provinces, and when Alexander III., then heir to the throne, held a reception of the chief officers of the staff, his annoyance was visible as one German name after another was announced. "At last!" he exclaimed, when towards the end came a Russian one. His antipathy to the Teutonic race was well known, and from him dates the decline of German influence, and the gradual exclusion of the German element from the chief offices of the State.

A few years ago the Baltic provinces were practically independent, but the Russianizing policy which has pressed so heavily on Finland is extending here also. All German schools were closed for a time, and though it has now been permitted to re-open them, Russian education must go on side by side and all examinations must be passed in Russian. German magistrates have been superseded by Russian judges, and a German land-owner has no chance in a lawsuit against an Esthonian, for it is a Russian principle always to support the peasant who, as a rule, is devoted to his Czar. Reval, at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland (an important position since St. Petersburg is at the other end), with its magnificent harbour, dotted across the entrance with islands which make it additionally safe and sheltered, is being made into a strong fort, and Russian officers, with their wives and families, are being drafted into the place where Russian was almost unknown some years back. Petty acts of aggression are going on against which there is no redress. A piece of land is seized upon for public works without the consent of the owner, who receives no compensation whatever. With an immense property, extending to twenty-four square miles, it may be weeks before he visits a distant portion of his estate, and it is quite by accident that he discovers his loss. But it is no use arguing with the Russian Government; it is waste of time. Then he finds strange cows driven into one of his fields and contentedly grazing there, and inquires the reason. "Oh!" replies the peasant, "the Russian officer gave me leave," and again there is nothing to be done.

It is a part of the Russian system to stir up one race against another in order to keep the balance even, and this had been going on for some time in Esthonia without any visible result. The nobles were conscious of a growing disaffection, but did not attach much importance to it. But with the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the province at the time of the Russo-Japanese war, when they were wanted

at the front, came the peasants' opportunity, of which they were quick to take advantage. A party of paid agitators, socialist and anarchist, arrived from Riga and stirred up the people with inflammatory speeches, telling them the land was theirs, appealing to their greed and plying them with drink. The Esthonian peasant, though mild enough as a rule, is capable of any excesses when he is drunk. The landowners, isolated in their country houses, unsuspecting and unprepared, suddenly found themselves defenceless. The distances between the estates were too great for any organized plan of resistance. It was like the French Revolution on a small scale; it began slowly, a house or two burnt down, a landlord murdered in a lonely part of the forest, and then suddenly it burst into flame. The nobles, alarmed for the safety of their wives and families, took refuge in Reval, leaving their country places at the mercy of bands of marauders who burnt, pillaged and destroyed on every side. Many of the owners became bankrupt in consequence, some who remained behind were murdered in cold blood, and one man, dragged away from his wife, who was expecting the birth of her child, was butchered horribly before her eyes. From the height at Reval fires were seen burning in all directions, and in five days over a hundred houses were completely destroyed. Afterwards it was realized that three or four determined men with women to feed them might have held a house against their cowardly assailants, who were ready to run directly a stand was made, but at the time it seemed impossible, and the risk too great for women and children. In Courland and Livonia the nobles defended their property with success, in spite of their inferiority in numbers. In Livonia, ten young men, gentlemen, fought against fifty-six insurgents, routed them completely, and took twenty prisoners, but in Esthonia they were held back by the doubt if the Government would support them and the fear of reprisals later on. But the Russians, who had not intended things to go so far, now took alarm, and hastily sent soldiers to quell the disturbances; the ringleaders were arrested and sent to Riga to be tried, and several of them were executed, though, while their tools suffered, the real instigators escaped. A stern example was necessary to prevent a recurrence of the disorders; martial law was proclaimed throughout the district, punitive expeditions were sent out, and peasants strung up in scores, hanged or shot on the very scene of their

exploits in order to strike terror into the souls of the rest; for Russia, when roused, does not stop at half measures. In one place alone twelve men were put to death and their bodies buried in the garden, a grim thought, but the present owners (the place changed hands soon afterwards) do not know where they lie. Several of the land-owners, moved with pity for the unfortunate peasants, accompanied the officers in charge of these expeditions, and succeeded by their evidence in saving the lives of many innocent men who would otherwise have suffered with the guilty, for there was not much discrimination shown. Order was restored, and the nobles returned to their homes, but there was a feeling of insecurity in the air, like that which prevailed in India after the Mutiny. People did not know whom to trust; their own peasants, though they refrained from attacking them, had shown very plainly they were not to be relied upon, and even when well-disposed to their masters, had implored them to seek refuge in flight. When a house was burnt down in the absence of the owner they joined freely in the pillage, for they did not see why they should not have their share. A grave uncertainty prevailed with regard to the future. "They will end by getting us all out of the country," the young wife of one of the land-owners confided to the writer.

The Revolution is over, but its effects remain. The power of the noble has received a crushing blow; the Esthonian, looked upon so long as a mere illiterate peasant, has come to the front and asserted his claim to civil equality. He has usurped the lead in municipal affairs and wrested local government from the hands of the German aristocrat, who, grown careless from long security, suddenly found himself superseded. In the country he has become a land-owner, buying up estates which the original owners have been forced to sell, and both in town and country he is becoming rich and prosperous. In the space of a few years an Esthonian church, bank, and theatre have been built in Reval, all hideous, but large, important and costing money. It is impossible not to feel that this people has a future, its progress has been so rapid and remarkable. Already it possesses a literature, and in imitation of the Germans it has opened a social club. The Baltic barons, whose authority was so long undisputed, feel their power and possessions slipping from their grasp, and some of the more far-seeing among them are beginning to turn their thoughts elsewhere—to Canada,

where the conditions of life are not unlike those of their native provinces, and where they would not be hampered at every turn by irritating and senseless restrictions. By a recent law no foreigner is allowed to acquire property in Russia, and the Government, in its desire to get rid of the "foreigner" already within its gates, is making things uncomfortable for him so that he may not care to stay. The climate of Canada, equally cold, is drier and brighter, the soil incomparably more fertile. Here the ground is covered with stones which take much time and hard labour to remove, flat stones which lie on the surface, and have to be carted away, and granite rocks imbedded in the earth, which require blasting to eradicate. The writer was present at the blasting of one of these great stones: there was a loud report, a puff of smoke rising up to the sky, and the whole stone opened out like the expanding calix of a flower, disclosing its heart. It was of dazzling white quartz, contrasting curiously with the gray lichen-covered exterior. The soil itself is poor and ungrateful, with a layer of stone beneath it in many places, most interesting to the geologist, who sees in it an almost unique specimen of the formation of a very early period of the world's history, but heart-rending to the agriculturist. Labour is scarcer and more expensive since the Revolution, wages have gone up, and all the necessities of life are dearer, but the income of the landed proprietor has not increased, on the contrary. Unlike the pleasant leisure of an English country gentleman, his life is a daily struggle with the climate, the soil, and the people. He has a large house, carriages and horses, but a scarcity of ready money, and his style of living is a mixture of grandeur and primitive simplicity. He lives by his estate, and has to work very hard to make it pay; the master's eye must be everywhere or the peasant will not work. The vast forests which stretch along the sea-shore all the way to St. Petersburg, and the grey monotonous expanse of fields inland from which he derives his income, require unremitting care and unfailing attention. The elk is still found in these forests, though much more rarely than formerly, and the capercaillie is shot here in the spring, in the very early morning, in the first grey light of dawn. They shoot him sitting while he is singing his courting song, which seems an unsportsmanlike thing to do, but the difficulty of stalking him is very great as he is very shy, which makes it intensely exciting.

The nobility unite to pride of birth and a high idea of their own importance, a patriarchal simplicity which is rather touching. Sons and daughters, even when grown-up and married, kiss their mother's hand when they meet her in the morning and when they bid her good-night; little children are taught to kiss their mother's hand and thank her after every meal, and guests also thank their hostess. A carriage with four horses meets you at the railway station—where the road is wide enough to permit it they are driven all four abreast—and you feel very grand, but you have a drive of twenty miles before you, and the horses have already come the same distance that day to meet you. You may not arrive till midnight, but you will find a good supper awaiting you, and every one up to receive you. This is no hardship in Russia, where people habitually turn night into day, and are loth to go to bed these light summer nights, when the interval between sunset and sunrise is like our ordinary twilight, and you never need a candle to undress by. The rooms are lofty and spacious, but in each bedroom there are two beds, in case unexpected guests should arrive, for in this country of great distances you would never think of turning any one away from the door, but they must be willing to take pot-luck and whatever sleeping accommodation can be hastily found for them. Three men contentedly share the same room, and the writer has known even the big drawing-room utilized for the purpose. It is not the thing to put a married lady with an unmarried one, but you may put two married ladies together, and do; they do not like it but have to put up with it, for they are obliged to do the same themselves.

Riga, on its own gulf, is one of the most important commercial cities in the empire, from which most of the Russian wheat is shipped abroad, and it was here that the Teutonic knights first established their sway. But Reval, where King Edward came to meet the Czar, is much more interesting, an old mediæval town, one of the Hanseatic League, like Hamburg and Lübeck, which has hardly changed at all since the Middle Ages. There are indeed two distinct towns, the burghers' below, girt round with a wall and towers at intervals, and the knights' above, where the nobles dwelt in proud security on a height overlooking the plain, perched aloft like an eagle's eyrie. This also has a wall, and two gates, and when these were closed no one could enter in. In vain the people surged up from below and beat against the stout old

Swedish gate, which resisted their utmost efforts. It still remains, a relic of the past, with a thick wooden door studded with iron nails, and a little to one side of it the Danish cross which also figures in the arms of the town, and commemorates the victory of the Danes over their pagan foes, when according to the legend, a white cross on a red ground appeared in the sky. The towers all have names; the Dicke Margarethe, a round, massive building of rude construction as its name imports, juts out of the lower town wall, and was formerly a prison. There is a large crucifix in the window above the archway, which prisoners used to be led out to look at for the last time, before they were put to death. Above, on the castle wall, the Lange Hermann, the watch-tower, commands all the country round. At the Mai-Fest, the great May festival, when all the people wear their best clothes, some pretty verses were recited in which the two towers were personified, and the Lange Hermann, the lover, reproached the Dicke Margarethe, the maiden tower, with her infidelity, accused her of having transferred her affections to the Russian warships that lay beneath her in the bay and saluted her with their guns, to which she retorted that one must go with the times, that the old methods of warfare were exploded, and that her fancy was now for the new fort that was just being built. These warships practise at night in order not to be surprised again by torpedoes under cover of the darkness as they were during the Russo-Japanese war. It is rather like locking the stable-door after the horse is stolen. At the moment of writing English men-of-war are lying in Reval harbour on a friendly visit, and officers and men fraternizing with their Russian comrades, for a sailor is a sailor all the world over, but a German musician who was foolish enough to question a sailor about the ships and take down notes of his answers got into serious trouble. The sailor told one of the officers, and that night the musician was arrested at a concert, and the German consul had the greatest difficulty in getting him off. Perhaps he really was a spy, who knows? No foreign ships of war are allowed near Cronstadt, but it is said that the British merchant vessels really know the waters of the Gulf of Finland better than the Russians, as their charts are so much better.

There are beautiful views of the town from the Anlagen, a delightful promenade made on the site of the old moat; the high sloping red roofs of the houses, with here and there a

green tree peeping out between them, the tall, grey steeples of the German churches, and the Russian domes and minarets, some gilt, some coloured, each surmounted with a cross to make them Christian and save them from the appearance of a Mahomedan mosque, all group together and form a harmonious whole. Inside the gates the quaint old winding streets paved with rough, uneven cobbles, terrible to walk upon, but most picturesque, would rejoice the heart of an artist. All the old churches were formerly Catholic, of course, but have a Lutheran look about them, built of cold, grey granite, with dark steeples and square towers, and almost devoid of ornament, but with a certain austere grandeur investing them which appeals to the imagination. One of the finest, the Nicolaikirche, possesses some wonderful relics of old Catholic times, hidden away in a side chapel; and shown to strangers with a certain pride as works of art, though no longer objects of devotion, are two magnificent triptychs with figures of saints carved in wood, painted and richly gilt, and a Dance of Death. At the Reformation, when the mob tried to rush in and destroy the treasures the sacristan poured boiling lead (we are not told how he happened to have it handy) into the key-holes so that the doors could not be opened from the outside, and hastily removed as much as he could carry to a safe place. A little mortuary-chapel attached to this church contained for many years a curious mummy, the body of the Duc de Croye, a mysterious Frenchman, taken prisoner at the Battle of Narva and brought to Reval. He died there two years afterwards, and as he had contracted a number of debts, which he was unable to pay, his body was left unburied. His relations were communicated with, but refused to do anything, and there the body remained. For some reason or other it did not decay, but dried up and shrivelled; it was kept in a cupboard and taken out from time to time to be dusted by the verger, who showed it to people as a curiosity. It has now at last received decent burial.

For us Catholics the position of the Church in these provinces has a peculiar interest. She has a double struggle to maintain between the Greek Church on the one side and the Lutheran on the other, between superstition and indifference, for that is what the Lutheran form of Protestantism has degenerated into. At a Confirmation class recently held in Bremen by one of the leading pastors, he put the following question to the candidates: did they believe in God?

Out of 410 boys and girls, between the ages of twelve and fourteen, who presented themselves for what is now looked upon as a civil rite rather than a religious one, twenty-four only declared their belief in God, fourteen answered: "Who knows?" and the remaining 372 replied: "There is no God." This astonishing result created a sensation in these provinces, which are practically German, as well as in Germany itself, all the more as the pastor who put the question was the author of a treatise on *The Foundations of Modern Religious Teaching*. The Catholic Church will never surrender the souls of her children. She alone stands firm on the basis of early education, and Government after Government has had to reckon with her. Shut up her schools and she will open others with the contributions of the faithful, which never fail her, whatever sacrifices they may entail.

The Greek Church stands on a different plane to Lutheranism, for after all it is a real Church with Orders and the Sacraments, but it fails somehow to reach the daily life of the people. They assist at the service, they do not join in it; there are no chairs in Russian churches, and they never kneel, but stand the whole time like reverent spectators, listening to the beautiful singing and following the action of the priest like the Jews of old when the High Priest alone went into the Holy of Holies. It is a beautiful spectacle, solemn, religious and imposing, in which the gold vestments of the priest, his deep, sonorous voice, the gorgeous decoration, the magnificent chanting in the Slavonic tongue, all combine to impress the imagination, and a mysterious fascination attaches to those closed doors behind which no woman is allowed to penetrate, which are opened for a short time during the ceremony and closed directly it is over, but the congregation seem to be lookers-on, not partakers. There is no lack of faith and devotion among the people, but it shows itself chiefly in veneration of the ikons, richly adorned with jewels, before which you see people of all classes praying, making deep and repeated bows, and putting up candles.

Christianized by the Teutonic knights, the Baltic provinces became Lutheran at the Reformation. In the north the peasants followed the example of their masters, but in the south, especially the parts bordering on Poland, they are mostly Catholics still. The Church, persecuted and contemned for centuries, perseveres in her mission, but now as in the days of our Lord it is mostly the poor who have the

Gospel preached to them. In spring and summer when extra hands are wanted for work in the fields labourers come from the south to the north as Irish labourers come over to England for the haymaking and harvest, and these poor ignorant Letts stipulate beforehand that they shall be allowed the free exercise of their religion. They will not stay unless Mass is provided for them and a priest who can speak their language, and the Protestant land-owners have to cast about and meet the difficulty, or the men would all go home in a body. Application is made to Reval or Riga: a priest is obtained from the nearest mission, who hears confessions and gives Communion, and Mass is celebrated in the basement of one of the big country houses where everything is lacking for the Sacrifice except the essentials, which are all that really matter. In one house, the mistress, herself a Catholic, had given up the practise of her religion, and would not even assist at the Mass celebrated under her own roof, yet who could say that grace might not come from it to the souls of her little children, baptized Catholics, who were being brought up away from the Church and shut out from her teaching? Who could say whether she herself, led away by human affections and worldly considerations, the desire to please and the fear of giving pain, but with an inner craving for something higher and more spiritual which could not be satisfied by the cold forms of Lutheran worship, might not feel the influence of the Divine Presence and receive the first prompting of the Spirit which would lead her back to what she had rejected and cast away?

EDITH STANIFORTH.

A Beloved Tyrant.

MANY modern books of travel lament the dying out of national customs and costumes and moan over the art-destroying influence of railways and other means of rapid communication. Beauty being in the eye which seeth, perhaps the modern traveller, superficially observing well-worn tracks, is himself partly productive of this want of variety. Off the highroads there are many curiosities to observe, and as long as strong human characters refuse to run their course in conventional grooves, but insist on finding a more varied track for themselves, there will be interesting spots to visit in the world of men as well as in the world of nature.

This little preface is meant as an introduction to Herr Pfarrer Obermann, a character so picturesque and vigorous that even a dreary suburb in one of our big towns could not fail to be attractive if enlivened by his residence there. As it is, he lives in Germany in a village in the Catholic Rhineland called Freudenuau, a charming spot, not far from an ugly manufacturing town as the railway goes, but far removed from it in spirit and in its own immediate surroundings. It lies in a valley on either side of a little river. Wooded hills, where the nightingales sing and the wild deer roam, slope down to the river's banks. Peace reigns supreme. The village is large and thriving, and even boasts a factory where a colony of Italian working-men are employed. This building might have been a blot on the landscape, but the skill of a native architect so planned it, that it fits in unobtrusively with the rural scenery. That factions, strifes and enmities do not rend Freudenuau from within nor assail it from without is largely due to one man, the master spirit of the community, its parish priest. He loves his people and they love him, and as he supplies them with what, according to Carlyle, is the supreme need of man, "true guidance," they in return willingly grant him "loving obedience." The fame of Freudenuau's spiritual ruler has passed far beyond

the borders of his parish. All the Rhineland has heard of him, and occasionally a stranger like myself has the good fortune to join the ever-widening circle of friends and admirers.

Some three years ago I was staying with a friend, a priest who occasionally helps the parish priest of Freudenau in the discharge of his duties towards the Italians; Father Obermann's attainments in the domain of modern languages leaving something to be desired. The talk was on modes of government, and Freudenau's ruler was cited as a favourable example of the strong hand.

"You must not leave Germany without making the acquaintance of our little Hildebrand. I shall write to say I am coming, and that you are coming with me."

I protested that I was a total stranger and therefore diffident as to my reception by an evidently strong-minded character. My friend put my mind at rest.

"Hospitality is one of his shining virtues; you will be received like the Prodigal Son."

We set off on a hot day in July. A hot railway journey and a hot walk from the station with a rapid walker reduced my powers of appreciation to their lowest ebb, and the beauties of Freudenau left me untouched. Not so the first view of Father Obermann. It was impossible not to brighten at the sight of him, standing with literally outstretched arms in front of his barrack of a presbytery, smiling a welcome on his guests from every wrinkle on his homely face. For he is not handsome. Small of stature, stoutish, grey-haired, his face wrinkled beyond his years, with keen eyes and firm mouth, which in repose gives him a somewhat stern look. But a face so beaming with geniality could suggest no harshness. He noticed my fatigue at once:

"My friend, you are tired, you shall go to bed as soon as we have had dinner."

I dared not protest, for we were in the house of the autocrat. Its chief characteristic is bareness, an absence of hangings and a scarcity of furniture, all of which the parish priest considers superfluities. In the long corridor leading to the dining-room the chief object is a wooden trough containing water. Three dogs were eagerly drinking as we passed. Our host introduced them:

"The burgomaster's dog, the doctor's dog, the notary's dog [evidently all the notabilities keep dogs]. Poor beasts,

in this hot weather their masters don't give them enough to drink, so they come here; the door is always open and there is always water in the trough."

Next to men the parish priest loves animals. He sacrificed a flourishing cabbage-patch to a settlement of hens for the mere satisfaction of having "live stock" about his house, for the villagers keep him supplied with more eggs than he knows what to do with. In the dining-room where we had now arrived, a double room with folding-doors, which are always open (all the doors in the house are always open), two canaries led a joyous life, untrammelled by a cage, except as sleeping accommodation. A careful housewife might object to such license as disadvantageous to the furniture, but here there was so little furniture to spoil that any such consideration was put out of the question. A table, some chairs and books were all that the room boasted. Books were everywhere, in cases, on the table and on the chairs. They were chiefly on theological and antiquarian subjects, for Father Obermann has no small fame as a student of antiquities, and is an active member of more than one antiquarian society. "Our Pfarrer is a learned man," the villagers say with pride, and boast of the many books in his possession. But if the dining-room has books it has no curtains. Such a striking omission could not fail to draw my attention, and I was caught glancing with astonishment at the bare windows.

"You see I have no curtains. Why should I have curtains? The Apostles did not have curtains."

This appeal to apostolical simplicity was a favourite argument of Father Obermann's. The curate was tried by its standard and found wanting. He wore cuffs and preached learned sermons, the Apostles did neither. Some inconsistency the good priest showed, for deprecating cuffs in the curate, he himself wore a waistcoat ornamented with tiny white sprigs, and sported an enormous gold watchchain, though he denied himself the watch. Truth to say, the Father's personal tastes were florid and decorative, he would have attired himself as picturesquely as Parson Hawker of Morwenstow, whom he resembled in more than one particular, if it were not for the stricter rubrics which confined him to black. It is to principle only that the bareness of his house is due, he indulges his love of show and colour in his church, and especially in the adornment of the beadle. Dinner was a lively meal. There was no question of the day in which our

host was not interested and on which he did not have decided opinions. The subject of Socialism roused his wrath; it is his pet abomination.

"Utopias are not for human nature. Angels might work a socialistic state, but human beings never can. In the meantime what happens when the workmen become Socialists? They grumble, they become discontented, they lose their faith and their happiness, they rebel and go on strike, and end in utter misery. As long as I live I will keep Socialism out of Freudenau."

The little man looked quite fierce for a minute, but presently relapsed into his usual genial smile, as he pressed his guests to partake of the good things provided. It was impossible to do full justice to these, such appetites being beyond human capacity. Father Obermann, a man of few needs, expected his guests to have the more, was always disappointed but never converted. His hand went to his sumptuous watch-chain, and out of the pocket came a whistle on which he blew a blast fit to summon an army. It produced Kätchen, housekeeper and factotum, who was always called in this manner, and who knew exactly what would be said to her.

"Kätchen, take away these things. See how you cook, my guests cannot eat them."

Nothing abashed by such severity, Kätchen smiled as she cleared the table. After dinner there was bed for me with no option of a refusal. I had looked tired, therefore I must want rest. A plentiful provision of cigars was given me to beguile the time. Cigars are one of the parish priest's few luxuries and one of his inconsistencies, for how can cigars be considered apostolical? Even in this extravagance he does not lose sight of economy. He keeps what he calls a cigar-doctor, a box in which are a pair of scissors and some odds and ends of tobacco-leaf. By means of these he mends all torn or spoiled cigars so that nothing shall be wasted. His manner of disposing of empty cigar-boxes is somewhat unconventional. The box is flung into the middle of the room in a conspicuous place until something necessitates a blast for Kätchen, who on retiring, takes the box with her.

"Now don't you see, if I had put that box on the mantel-piece it would have been left there for a week."

The curate came in during the course of the evening, and it was pleasant to see, that in spite of a difference of opinion on cuffs and sermons, he was on excellent terms with his

immediate superior, who beamed on him and addressed him usually as "Karlchen" or "Little Charlie."

Sunday, the clerical day of hard labour, was a busy one with Father Obermann. It was easy to see that in the arrangement of his church and its services, the good of his flock was foremost in his mind, and that the shepherd of that flock was well aware that he was dealing with human beings prone to error, and not with a race of supermen. At the early Mass I noticed a divergence from the usual method of approaching the altar-rails. The communicants advanced up the church to the gospel side, when they walked in single file round the ambulatory, emerging at the epistle side, and only then knelt down at the rails. Father Obermann was nothing loth to explain the reason as he took me round to admire the beauties of the church.

"These good people, they read in their books the 'Acts of preparation for Communion,' and think of something else half the time, and when they do apply their minds they don't understand a quarter of what they read. They think they are prepared, but they are not. Now when they walk round here they look at the pictures," and he pointed them out. "The Sacrifice of Isaac, the Paschal Lamb, the Manna in the Desert, the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, the Last Supper, the Disciples at Emmaus, the Death of Tarcisius, St. Clare and the Saracens; by the time they arrive at the communion-rails they have made quite a good meditation."

The beadle was in the church and I had to admire him, a splendid fellow, blazing with scarlet and gold.

"There is not a finer one in Cologne Cathedral," said Father Obermann, with pride.

In the happy parish of Freudenau a collection is a rare event, but when one takes place, no one in the congregation is let off, the mean have to contribute as well as the generous, the "Herr Pfarrer" sees to that. After the sermon, the large doors of the church are bolted and the only means of exit is through a small side door, on one side of which stands the beadle with a plate, and on the other side Father Obermann, likewise with a plate. No one dares pass without paying the price of escape. He is indeed determined to take his whole flock, goats and all, to Heaven with him, and if they will not walk in the narrow path of their own accord, they must be driven there. There are large catechism classes on Sunday afternoons, when the parish priest and

the beadle again work in concert, this time to detect absentees, and woe betide the housemother who cannot give a satisfactory account of any boy or girl not in attendance. Vespers and Benediction at four o'clock conclude the Sunday activities, and as we were sampling Kätchen's cakes we heard the story of a warlike encounter in which Father Obermann came off victorious.

The editor of a Socialistic paper in the neighbouring town made up his mind that Freudenau wanted converting, and accompanied by some enthusiastic supporters, descended upon the village for a campaign of speechmaking. It was winter and bad weather, speeches could only be made indoors. Father Obermann's opinions on Socialists were well known and shared by the villagers. The editor and his satellites could not secure a room in an inn or anywhere else in which to hold a meeting, shelter and food were offered them, but no opportunity for haranguing. They returned to the town, wet and discomfited. The editor, in his wrath, forgetting discretion, sat down and composed a fiery leading article for his paper, which appeared next day. The obscurantism of Freudenau was laid at the door of its parish priest. "Father Obermann had denounced the Socialistic campaign from the pulpit, and had threatened the people with all the penalties of the Church if they dared to listen to the speakers." The editor, who had a splendid imagination, went into detail of all the threatened penalties, and the case against the parish priest looked black indeed.

"Lies," said Father Obermann, when he saw the article, "and I will prosecute him for libel." Having ascertained that the editor was a single man, with no one but himself dependent on his efforts, Father Obermann entered into the affair of the prosecution with zest, for he loves a fight in a good cause. In due time the untruthful editor found himself in prison, and the triumphant hero refused to have any pity for him. "It will do his soul good," he said.

It must not be supposed that the parish priest of Freudenau fights Socialism merely by disliking it. He takes every interest in the social and material betterment of his people. His parish boasts several societies of the social order such as flourish on the Continent, and though he is too good a governor to wish to manage everything himself, the knowledge of a fiery, keen-eyed little man in the background keeps the various officials on the alert and fearful of neglecting their duty.

But this is not the place to talk of Father Obermann's good works. What is written here are merely the eccentricities which strike a chance acquaintance. It is not difficult to imagine the years of devoted duty, the constant self-sacrifice, the large-heartedness and unfailing love which have won him an unrivalled position in the hearts of his people.

M. BRACKEN.

The Ritual of Communion and the Use of the Vernacular.

THERE seems no reasonable room for doubt that down to the eve of the Reformation the giving of Holy Communion outside of Mass, apart from cases of sickness, was almost entirely unknown. Perhaps the most reliable evidence for any contrary practice is supplied by certain early book engravings, two of which are reproduced in the present article. That these are intended to depict Communion outside of Mass can hardly be disputed, although we may at the same time allow that in matters of ritual and costume the testimony of such wood-cuts has to be treated with extreme caution. No one, of course, could safely infer, because a mediæval drawing shows a dying bishop in bed with his mitre on, that it was the ordinary practice for dignitaries of the Church to retire to rest in full pontificals. It would perhaps be equally rash to lay stress upon the apparent absence of a stole or upon the presence of a chalice in the earlier of our engravings, that reproduced opposite. But the artist has taken the trouble to indicate a surplice which is worn by the Canon who is giving Communion under his fur tippet (the almuce)¹ and the chalice, I fancy, stands for nothing more than a reminder of the draught of unconsecrated wine and water which it was customary to present to communicants after they had received the Sacred Host.² One point of interest, which also inspires confidence in the comparative accuracy of the picture, is the fact that though the ciborium stands covered upon the altar, the priest does not take it into his hand but uses the paten to give Communion with. This undoubtedly agrees with the detailed descriptions of the ritual of Communion which we find in various monastic ordinals. We can hardly be wrong in assuming that among

¹ This is noteworthy because in the same book there are several other pictures of Canons, wearing unquestionably the same costume but without a surplice.

² See "The Laity and the Unconsecrated Chalice" in *THE MONTH*, vol. cxviii. (Oct. 1911), pp. 337—352; and cf. *ibid.* pp. 524 and 642, and vol. cxix., p. 77.

the monastic and mendicant Orders the administration of the Blessed Eucharist was of more frequent occurrence than in

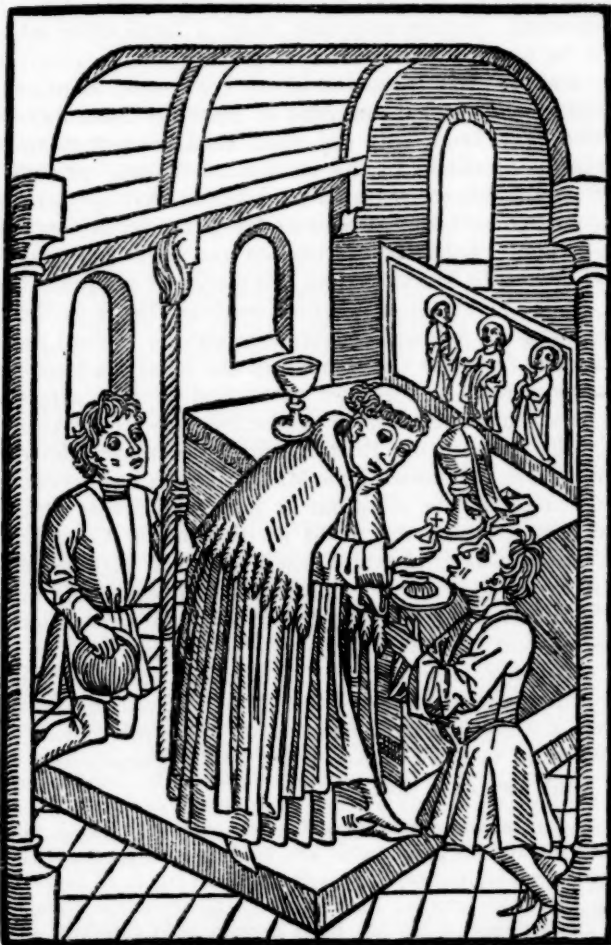


Fig. 1. Communion out of Mass, from *Der Selen Wurtzgart*, printed by Conrad Dinckmut at Ulm, 1483.

parish churches. But in these ordinals we notice two things—first, that it was directed that a very small number of Hosts should be reserved in the ciborium or other eucharistic vessel to provide for the needs of the sick; secondly, that the paten

and not the ciborium itself was used in the actual distribution of Holy Communion. I might illustrate the former of these points from the example of the Carthusians. In the fifteenth century only one Host, a large Host which might be broken into smaller fragments, was reserved by them, and this was consumed at the conventual Mass every Sunday; while even in the time of Dom Le Couteulx,¹ two hundred years later, only two small Hosts were kept in the ciborium. Similarly in the Dominican Missal,² printed in 1506 at the Giunta press, it is enjoined that special care be taken that no large number of Hosts should be left after Communion. Other restrictions of the same sort may be found quoted by Martene,³ and it is a natural inference from this limitation of the number of reserved Hosts in the ciborium that no practice of administering the Blessed Sacrament apart from the Communion of the Mass can have been very prevalent. Indeed, we often find explicit directions that care should be taken to consecrate as nearly as possible the right number of Hosts required by those who communicated in the course of the Mass. Hardly less noteworthy is the fact that the ciborium or pyx itself seems never to have been held by the priest in distributing Communion. The custom was firmly established that each particle should be held over the paten—which is just what we should expect if the practice of receiving the Blessed Sacrament outside of Mass had not yet been generally recognized. In both our early engravings of such Communions the paten is used. The directions of an early Carmelite Ordinal of the fourteenth century are most significant. The priest who celebrates is to take the Hosts which he has consecrated from the altar, two at a time.

And in administering each Host, let the priest take it with his right hand and the paten in his left, holding it under the Host, and as he gives it let him say, "May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee unto eternal life, Amen." Between the thumb and the index finger of his left hand he may hold similarly another Host that thus two (friars) may communicate together without the

¹ See Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, vol. ii. pp. 389, 543.

² This Dominican Missal, Venice 1506, directs that the Blessed Sacrament should be kept in a silver pyx and that only one Host, or at most a small number, should be so reserved (pyxis argentea . . . infra quam in ponno albo et mundo servanda est una hostia consecrata, vel si plures servantur, non tamen in magna multitudine). A careful calculation is to be made at each communion in order that only a few may be left (paucae remaneant reservandæ).

³ See Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, iv. 58, and i. 226.

priest having to return to the altar. Also let the two who present themselves together wait for each other, and when both have received the Blessed Sacrament let them remain for an instant on their knees as before, and then afterwards rising to their feet together let them bend low and go to take the wine.¹

But in case this should be thought too early to be relied upon as an indication of the pre-Reformation practice, let me note that the Dominican Missal of 1506 directs that the Hosts are to be taken out of the pyx one at a time and that each separately should be held over the paten before it is placed upon the tongue of the communicant.

Let the priest [so runs the rubric] first distribute the reserved Hosts. And as he administers each Host, let him take it in his right hand and the paten in his left holding it under the Host and in this way let him transfer it from the altar to the brother who receives it.²

From all this, whether rashly or not, I infer that down to the beginning of the sixteenth century the practice of distributing Communion outside of Mass was hardly known. It seems, however, as our engravings suggest, to have gradually established itself about this date, though even then Communion was commonly given immediately after Mass and with the Hosts which had been consecrated during the Mass. The fact is that the process of using the paten to convey the particles one or two at a time from the altar to the communicants must have been an extremely tedious one, and this suggested the innovation that when many wished to receive, Mass should be finished first and Communion distributed afterwards. But with this innovation there came into existence a kind of separate Communion service, sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority, and the new departure, as I conceive, was fraught with more momentous consequences than anyone then foresaw.

The majority of my readers will no doubt appreciate the fact that the first really vital blow dealt to the existence of Catholicism in this country was the publication in the year 1549 of the Book of Common Prayer, the use of which in English throughout all parish churches was rendered obli-

¹ Zimmerman, *Sibert de Beka's Ordinarium*, p. 88.

² *Missale Ord. Prædicatorum*, 1506, signature 3, iiiii. *Sacerdos autem primo ministret hostias reservatas. Dum autem quamlibet hostiam ministrat, accipiat eam cum manu dextra et patenam cum sinistra, supponendo eam hostiæ, et sic transferat usque ad fratrem communicantem.*

gatory under heavy penalties. Up till then, the Mass, still unchanged, had remained the supreme act of worship, and it was the Book of Common Prayer which put an end to the Mass, however much our modern High Churchmen have striven to show that the Mass is substantially contained in it. But the Book of Common Prayer had itself been led up to by an earlier publication known as the *Order of Communion* of 1548. All during the reign of Henry VIII. the Mass and Office had been maintained in our cathedrals and churches, and had continued to be celebrated in Latin. Henry died on January 28, 1547, and before the end of the year all the preparatory steps had been taken to bring about an extremely insidious change in the conduct of public worship. This took the form of an Order of Communion which was to become obligatory on Easter Sunday, 1548. As Mr. H. A. Wilson abundantly shows in the very careful edition lately published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, this Order provided for the administration of the Blessed Eucharist under both kinds, and it was all drafted in English. On that Easter Day, then, those who attended the services in the parish churches of the metropolis found themselves confronted by the startling anomaly of a Mass celebrated as before in Latin except that the Epistle and Gospel with the *Gloria* and *Credo* were read in English, and in this was inserted in the usual place, but at unwonted length, a brand-new Communion service entirely in English. How significant all this was, seems to have been at once appreciated by the agents of the Reformers on the Continent. As may be learnt from the admirable work published some years ago by Cardinal Gasquet and Mr. Edmund Bishop on *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, the reformer Coverdale, who was then in Frankfort, at once had the new Order translated into Latin and German and sent it to Calvin, feeling sure of his congratulations upon it as "the first fruits of godliness." And indeed the attack upon the Catholic position was most insidious and proportionately skilful. The new Communion service was the thin edge of a wedge, which next year was almost driven home by the issue of the Book of Common Prayer. It aimed at accustoming the people of England to a break with the liturgical traditions of the past, but it took up a point, viz., the question of Communion in both kinds, upon which Continental Catholics were themselves to some extent divided, a point which was not a question of

dogma but only of discipline. And there is one aspect of the case, immediately connected with our present subject, which is of considerable interest. Why was it that the Reformers began their carefully planned attack upon the Latin liturgy with the Communion service alone? I answer, because the Communion service, in so far as it was anywhere regarded as a liturgical unit distinct from the Mass, was already in part conducted in the mother tongue. And this is the point which needs some little explanation. We are tolerably familiar now with the rite, I can hardly call it the service, of the administration of Holy Communion outside of Mass. In some churches Communion is usually given either before Mass or after Mass, or sometimes even at a Blessed Sacrament altar quite distinct from that at which Mass is commonly said. I make no comment on the custom, for one must often yield to practical difficulties, though there are some of us who dislike this partial severance of the sacrament from the sacrifice to which it properly belongs. But, as already stated, it seems certain that in the Middle Ages Holy Communion, apart from the case of taking Viaticum to the sick, was almost invariably administered during the Mass itself. The giving of Holy Communion to the laity was, I fear, rarely witnessed save at Easter. It must then have taken a considerable time, and probably some attempt was made to exhort the people and to help them devotionally by reciting a few simple acts aloud. How far this was the case in England is not very clear, but a form printed by Maskell from MS. Harleian 2383 makes it manifest that such practices were not unheard of in this country. The address (which Maskell entitles "*Exhortations before Communion*") is preceded by a form of private confession in English and is followed by a long absolution in Latin. The address itself begins thus:

Good men and women, I charge you by the authority of Holy Church, that no man or woman that this day proposeth here to be communicated, go to God's board unless he believes steadfastly that the Sacrament which he is avised here to receive is God's Body, flesh and blood, in the form of bread, and that what he receiveth afterwards is nothing else but wine and water for to cleanse your mouths of the holy Sacrament. Furthermore, I charge you that no man or woman go to God's board, unless he be of his sins clean confessed and for them contrite; that is to say having sorrow in your hearts for your sins. Furthermore I

charge you, if there be any man or woman that beareth in his heart any wrath or rancour to any of his even-Christians, that he be not there housled until the time that he be with them in perfect love and charity, for whoso beareth wrath or evil-will in heart to any of his even-Christians he is not worthy his God to receive, and if he do, he receiveth his damnation where he should receive his salvation.¹

There is much more to the same effect, but I only wish to urge here that there are traces in England of some such practice as tended, to judge by certain Continental Rituals, to make the Easter Communion almost a separate service. In particular there is one book known as the *Liber Sacerdotalis*, which, though published in Venice, was probably used throughout Italy for the administration of the Sacraments, and especially in Rome itself. The first edition seems to have been issued in 1524, under the care of the Dominican Father Albert Castellani. This manual, then, must be regarded as quite independent of any initiative of the Reformers, and it probably represents usages that had pretty generally been growing up during the later Middle Ages. The particular section which concerns us is headed, "Form for Communicating people in Church," and it opens with the following rubric:

The priest after hearing confessions ought to prepare himself for Mass and to consecrate as many hosts as he thinks will suffice for the congregation. Mass being over, retaining his vestments, or, if he did not himself celebrate, vesting for the occasion in a surplice and stole, the candles being lighted, he turns to the communicants who are kneeling before the altar, and after first making the sign of the cross over himself and reminding them all to do the same, he should make them say the *Confiteor*, as in the Mass, or in the longer form as given above at the Offertory.

Let me interrupt the writer here to note that this longer form is a sort of confession at considerable length, including the specification of many kinds of sins, which must necessarily have been read out in the vulgar tongue.² One may doubt if even the *Confiteor* itself was intended to be said in Latin; it was certainly often recited in the vernacular when Holy Viaticum was administered to the sick.

The *Confiteor* ended, the *Misereatur* and three prayers,

¹ Maskell, *Monumenta Rituala*, iii. p. 408; I have modernized the spelling.

² A similar form of confession in English is found in MS. Harleian 2383, referred to above.

which were practically absolutions, were repeated by the priest in Latin, and then he is bidden to genuflect, and turning to the people to show them one of the sacred particles with the words:

"Say you all as I say: *Domine non sum dignus, &c.*," and let him repeat these same words a second and a third time in the vulgar tongue. And when this has been repeated three times, he gives the Body of our Lord to all the communicants in turn, saying, *Corpus Domini nostri, &c.* (as at present).

After they have communicated, let them receive the ablution from the chalice, which some server shall hold on the right side of the altar, a cloth being wound round the foot of the chalice with which they may wipe their lips.

The priest is then directed, after repeating the *O Sacrum Convivium* to say the two prayers *Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili* and *Spiritum nobis Domine, &c.*, and to dismiss the communicants, as at present, with a blessing.

Further, this Catholic order of Communion is emphasized in Castellani's widely-spread manual by the engraving reproduced below (Fig. 2) in which a priest is shown in



Fig. 2. Communion out of Mass, from the *Liber Sacerdotalis*, edited by Father Castellani, O.P., Venice, 1524.

alb and stole—and consequently outside of Mass—giving Communion from the paten. That the details of costume

in the wood-cut are likely to be reliable, and not introduced merely at haphazard, is made clear from a comparison with another engraving in the same volume, which I have also reproduced here (Fig. 3). In this picture of confession the alb



Fig. 3. Confession, from the *Liber Sacerdotalis*, 1524.

has been discarded for some kind of cassock, the stole is no longer crossed, and the biretta is worn—a point upon which many rubricians of that period insisted. All these minutiae point to special care on the part of the artist, who, if not the Dominican, Father Castellani, himself, must have worked under his immediate supervision,¹ and we are consequently justified in believing that a certain prominence was designedly given to this ritual of Communion as a sort of separate service. Moreover, it was in large measure a service in the vulgar tongue; for the confession of the people, supplemented probably at the paschal communion by an exhortation from the priest, and the triple *Domine non sum dignus* will all have been spoken in the vernacular. It needs only a moment's reflection to see that in the nature of things it must have been intended that the *people*, and not the priest, should say the *Domine non sum dignus*. It is the person who is about to

¹ Nearly all the books which bear Castellani's name are illustrated in the same manner, notably a famous work on the Rosary, some engravings from which were reproduced in *THE MONTH* a dozen years back.

receive who ought to declare, "Lord, I am not worthy," not the priest, who is merely the minister to others. If the priest utters these words three times, it is in order that the people kneeling before the altar may say them in their hearts after him; and they are repeated in order that they may hear and retain them the better. When the *Liber Sacerdotalis* instructs the priest to make the communicants say them after him in the vulgar tongue (in this case presumably Italian), it only emphasizes what we find in a number of German and Spanish rituals of older date when describing the Communion of the sick.¹ It would be easy to quote numerous examples, in some of which the words of the *Domine non sum dignus* have undergone some development. Even as late as the time of St. Charles Borromeo, the Saint in his instructions to parish priests directs that the priest, when giving Communion, should lift one of the sacred particles above the ciborium, and should say to the people in their mother tongue, "raise your thoughts to God with all humility and devotion, and repeat these words with me, *Domine non sum dignus*, &c."² Moreover, Claude Vert assures his readers that in the 1563 edition of the *Missale Romanum* priests are instructed that in giving Communion to nuns they ought to use the feminine form, *Domine non sum digna*. I have not been able to discover the rubric in the only copy of this date accessible to me, but Vert professes to give the precise terms in which it is couched, and it seems unlikely that they can have been a pure fabrication, even if he be mistaken as to the precise date of the edition from which he copied them.³ Let it be noticed, moreover, that in some parts of Germany the practice of the priest saying both the *Ecce Agnus Dei* and the *Domine non sum dignus* in the mother tongue lasts to this day.⁴ The main point upon which I wish to lay stress is this, that already at the beginning of the sixteenth century over the greater part of Europe, the Communion service, in so far as it was recognized at all as a distinct item in the liturgy, was a service in which the mother tongue was at least par-

¹ See for example the *Rituale* of Valencia 1514, that of Burgos 1497, and Toledo 1554, and compare what has already been said in these pages, THE MONTH, April, 1914, pp. 416-417.

² St. Charles Borromeo, *Instructio* in his *Acta*, pp. 600-612.

³ The rubric as he quotes it runs: "Advertat Sacerdos dum sacram communionem solis monialibus porrigit ut dicat eis *Domine non sum digna*, etc., quia nonnulli ignari dicere solent *Domine non sum dignus* quod non convenit mulieribus." Vert, *Explication des Cérémonies*, iii. 396.

⁴ See for example the official *Rituale* of Würzburg printed as late as 1836

tially used. Here the Reformers saw their opportunity.¹ To frame a Communion Order in which nothing should be in Latin was only to go a little way beyond the precedent set by Rome itself. The more Romanizing members of the clergy—such men for example as Bishops Bonner, Tunstall and Heath—could not make any very violent protest against the substitution of a general confession of guilt in suitable terms in place of the *Confiteor*, or against the use of "a prayer of humble access" instead of the *Domine non sum dignus*. Moreover, the very restoration of the cup to the laity, whatever the clergy might think of it, was not likely to outrage the feelings of the ignorant populace as an astounding innovation. It was the custom in England, as nearly everywhere on the Continent, to allow the people to drink wine and water from the chalice, or some other vessel, as a purification after Communion. The *Liber Sacerdotalis* itself gives precise directions, as we have just seen, that the laity after communicating should be given to drink from a chalice.

The more closely, then, that we consider it, the more plainly it will appear that the Edwardian Order of Communion in 1548 represents a diabolically ingenious device for accustoming the clergy and people to a momentous change in the liturgy, without introducing innovations which would at once be bound to provoke a popular outbreak. For more than two years after Henry VIII.'s death the Mass in Latin was retained, the services seemed to go on much as before, even the new Communion Order followed the same general lines—exhortation, confession of sinfulness, expression of unworthiness, reception of Host (not yet, nor for more than a century to come, in the hands, but placed in the mouth as of old), drinking from the chalice, prayers said at the altar and final blessing—which we find in so pre-eminently papistical a book as the *Liber Sacerdotalis*. But meanwhile an enormous advance had been made in the direction pointed out by the Continental Reformers. In the first place, as Mr. H. A. Wilson and Cardinal Gasquet have shown,² the saying of Mass had been discouraged, indeed, practically

¹ As Knöpfler has shown, a precisely similar attempt was made in 1556 to introduce Communion under two kinds and with a vernacular service into Bavaria under Duke Albert V. Happily the movement was there frustrated. See Knöpfler, *Die Kelchbewegung in Bayern* (Munich 1891), and H. Meyer in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, 1914, pp. 283 ff.

² Wilson, *Order of Communion*, pp. xx. seq.; Gasquet & Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 102 seq.

suppressed, except when the new Communion Order was used. Secondly, the Communion service had been so lengthened that its relative importance had been vastly increased. Thirdly, Communion under two kinds had been introduced. There only needed another step, and then the Communion would become everything, and the Mass, or what was left of it, would have no other importance than as a mere preparation for the Communion which followed. With the publication of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 this further advance towards Protestantism was effectively realized.

HERBERT THURSTON.

At the Quenching of Lamps.

Wer des Todes Nacht liebend erschaut,
Wem sie ihr tief Geheimnis vertraut,
Des Tages Lügen, Ruhm und Ehr',
Macht und Gewinn, so schimmend hehr
Wie eitler Staub der Sonnen
Sind sie vor dem zersponnen!

Tristan und Isolde.

WHEN Antiphon left the harbour of Alexandria in his little sailing boat, the sun had already set, and a purple dusk, astonishingly immediate to perception, almost palpable, veiled sky and sea, and was hiding all horizons. Yet over the sea, the warm and welcoming Egyptian sea, a wonderful harmony of light was brooding.

Already Antiphon had passed beyond the close neighbourhood of the harbour theatres and booths, and isolated lamps alone now twinkled down the quays, pathetic, derelict, perishing sparks flung from the great conflagration yonder, itself doomed already and expecting death. For, as Antiphon, helping himself a little with the paddle, floated across the enormous harbour, the furnace-glare of the retreating city grew quickly dimmed and tranquillized. Still the red glow reached the little boat and tinged its side and gave it heavier shadows; but its violence was finished: even the harsh braying of the trumpets and the throb of tambourine and drum and the hoarse uproar of a populace drunk with gaiety were defeated, now, by distance, fused and molten, as it were, into a hive-like hum; or sighing, now more heavily, like the reverberation of some deep string upon an instrument, and now, after a little gasp or sob of sound, thinning itself out upon the tiny wind, and replaced at once, for Antiphon, by the infinitesimal voice of the water passing underneath the boat, lifting it, tilting it, and then falling from the wood and the oar with a tiny patter of drops. The town seemed, by now, incredibly remote to Antiphon, as he sat there in the sultry evening; it was a marvel to him that

it could ever have meant so much to him, that life of bazaar and brothel; that furious music, and that red furnace. He had turned his back on all it stood for. To that, he knew himself already dead.

At that moment, he turned the angle of a jetty, and lo, before him the Pharos, holding its great lamp aloft outside the harbour mouth, there on its little island. Its enormous foundation of masonry massed itself dark, indeed, against the dusk, yet etherealized somewhat and gnawed into, as it were, by the mysterious twilight. A skeleton work of metal topped the masonry, and aloft, in its iron cage, blazed the beacon-light itself, steady, and golden in colour. Steady and golden, the Pharos made a strange contrast with the smoky flare, the waving shadows and dazzling flashes of the mainland; yet still Antiphon in a sense resented it. Obstinate, contemptuous, as it were, it stood there: neither luring men back to land, nor pointing them seaward, revealing the harbour-mouth indeed, should a man elect to leave or enter it; yet, on the whole, seemingly content with its one duty of shining, certain of its unquenchable endurance. But Antiphon knew, as he passed beneath it, that here after all was no heaven-fallen fire; nor even, an essential chimney, as it were, to hell, a lamp fed with an undying, infernal fuel. Man's hand had built that pyramid and tower; it should fall, as years passed; its very island base might crumble. Man's mind had knit together the iron-work of the lantern; corroded by the salt it too should snap and tumble and the flame should die. For the very flame had been lighted and protected by man's hands and thought, and needed daily food, and in fine was but accidentally better than the flickering wicks of the quays or the flare of the far theatre.

Antiphon looked resentfully at the Pharos as the very type of those philosophies which had failed him. He had tested them, so he well believed, and they had failed him. The treacherous, solvent intellect had played him false. As a man who squanders in amours his power of loving, finds, when his hour comes, that his soul is grown disastrously impotent and has no love left for loving, so, in the intellectual irresponsibility of his late youth, Antiphon had wasted his true power of knowing, and not even the Stoicism, in which he had tried to brace those powers which he so well saw were falling flaccid, could succour him to-night, at the supreme crisis, when he had to ask himself whether indeed his

will could cope any more with life, or whether he might, as he so longed to, leave it. He was not, indeed, as in later generations one so driven right to bay undoubtedly would have been, tortured out of life. Much of life, as has been said, had of itself died away from him: many a filament, too, of thought had spontaneously shrivelled and left his mind free to be ignorant; many another he had deliberately unwound from about his brain. To Stoicism itself he sat, now, as it were, lightly, though even Stoicism offered him, here to hand, a whole theory of suicide. Or at least, true (should he wish to be true) to Stoic lines of thought, he saw that chosen death need be no act of violence, no insolence done to that order in which he knew the Universe must live, and he therein. The Law; the trend of the Totality! He should live in peace with that. . . . Well, since all circumstance, even of thought, was loathsome now to him, why were worse violence done should he desert this theatre of revolt and sink into the sea of elemental existence which followed death? Why were less obstinacy displayed in accepting the great solicitation of the waves, and in rejoining that universal calm, that un-individual mode of being which underlay the noisy, separate life of consciousness, than in forcing himself to live, untainted even, in the crowd of tainted men?

Still, he bowed his head and tried to find guidance in a once beloved prayer:

*Ἄγου δέ μ' ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ γ' ἡ Πεπρωμένη
ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος.
ὥς ἔφρομαι γ' ἄοκνος · ἦν δὲ μὴ θέλω,
κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἔφρομαι.¹*

But the spell failed in power. It but proved once more that, were the duty of non-resistance indeed a true one, less resistance, more trust might be involved in the making of himself over to the insistent summoning of the waters, than in the grim resolve to row home once more, disembark, regain his lodging and the land's law of life.

In the accustomed parable, he reminded himself that he was but as some dog, fastened to the jolting, rolling cart. Resist he might, and be dragged; run he might, unresisting; but ever must he perforce reach the goal whereto the

¹ Lead me, O God, and thou my Destiny,
To that one place which you will have me fill.
I follow gladly. Should I shrink from Thee,
Made wholly vile, I needs must follow still.

Cleanthes.

Driver drove. And now something of the torture, not proper to his age, entered him. He knew the dislocation of his self upon life's rack. Soul and sense had long since, for him, been divorced. That agony was healed. But now spirit was torn within itself; how to follow with docility he knew not: though he meant to move obediently to the Law and the Force, the cart swerved suddenly this way and that, or accelerated, abruptly, its speed, and the wretched dog was hideously tugged and tossed about by the uncaring Driver. The fable helped no more: thought helped no more: as a man with failing heart feels himself leaden-footed, stricken at the knees, netted where he stands, so the mind of Antiphon strove to move, to decide, and could not, and he drifted, in his little boat, out beyond the Pharos.

To the pursuing illumination of its lamp the risen moon added a sinister radiance. The moon, huge and orange colour, hung low above the flat shore-line and the eastward sea: she should have been Isis, he felt, white, cold, virginal; and behold her, complaisant, sultry, a flushed accomplice, adding glamour to the revels in the city. Already in the morning Isis had appeared on his horizon. Her sacred boat had sailed away, garlanded with gay flowers, escorted by a whole flotilla of pleasure-boats filled with mummers still masked, to obtain from the goddess a lucky spring. The town had spent its day in feasting. Before the settling of dusk, a brief respite had been granted. Women were resting, or adorning themselves for the night's enjoyment. Men's thoughts were flitting, lazily as yet, round the savage hours approaching; as evening finally closed in, the expectant panting of the town grew as it were audible. The town awoke and panted; with quick whispers between, it strained and sobbed for its prey: its vast voice gathered; a great laughing and a hymning, an immense greed for the pleasure and perversity of life poured upwards, with the shabby glare from the bazaars, into the sky, and, when the moon arose, balefully contemplating the revels of her votaries, a huge cry rose too to Isis; down every street the sacred sistrum rattled: the untainted Maiden was hailed by the animal outcry of all that sweating, shameless crowd.

Fixing his eyes seaward, Antiphon placed behind him the bazaar, and the Pharos, and the moon.

Yet lo, even out to sea, a tiny light, burning at the prow of a lonely fishing-boat.

Into the silence created by Antiphon's unanswered prayer, a voice from this ship floated; a high and almost strident voice, doubtless, in itself; yet, rarified by the distance, and spiritualized by an amazing passion, it was cleansed of all that might have felt rough and over-fibrous in texture. The fisherman was singing, it would seem, a hymn in honour of some local deity unknown to Antiphon.

*Βροτέας γενέας
σῶτερ Ἰησοῦ,
ποιμήν, ἀροτήρ,
οἶαξ, στόμιον,
πτερον οὐράνιον
παναγοῦς ποιμένης,
ἁλιεὺ μερόπων
τῶν σωζομένων
πελάγους κακίας,
ἰχθὺς ἀγνοῦς
κύματος ἐχθροῦ
γλυκερῇ ζωῇ δελεάζων.¹*

Critic to the last, he smiled at the crude anapæsts. He admired the accumulation of cult-titles, recited, doubtless, lest, invoked by the wrong name, the dæmon might feel injured and retaliate unpropitiously. He perceived also how this fisherman had created a god after his own likeness—a god who goes fishing! marvelled Antiphon, clear that the human brain was an untiring artificer of the grotesque. Or possibly—there had been one word he did not recognize, with a half Greek, half Syrian sound . . . perhaps it was the shape of some odd oriental sprite for whom this magic formula was fashioned. The Syrians, he knew, had a fish-goddess, with sacred fish; and a Dagon, half man, half monster of the sea. Perhaps the hymn was for them.

Cynically cruel, then, were They, who, by promise and bait of "life," should withdraw their captives from that element in which alone they could live!

¹ Of the human race
Thou Saviour, Jesus,
Thou Shepherd and Ploughman,
Thou Rudder and Bridle,
Thou heavenly Wing
Of the all-holy flock:
Fisherman of mortals
Who are being saved
From the sea of evil,
With sweetest life enticing
Thy holy fish
From the hostile wave.

The little fishing-smack was returning to shore. It floated by him. The tiny lantern swung, not as Antiphon had thought, before Isis, or the Dioscuri, or any sea-nymph. Only a dark cross-like design, with one or two indistinguishable letters, and perhaps an olive branch, were painted on the prow.

Quite close to Antiphon the boat passed, with its cross and its lamp and its high wailing outcry upon the divine Fisherman of mortals. . . . Somehow it clinched his resolve.

"I will plunge," said he to himself, "whence none shall draw me forth."

"I at least will pass across," said he, "like a man who has learnt the loveliest of life, and, having learnt, renounces, trusting to That which began all this, which led me through it, and shall accomplish me."

Sitting in the boat, he tied his feet firmly together with the thong of the paddle. The paddle he let drift down the wave. He then held his hands palm upward towards the unseeing skies, and repeated slowly the most musical of all the lines he knew—the final chorus in the tragedy of Sophoklēs—the farewell of the weary sufferer Philoktetēs to the island which had seen his torment, and which he was leaving for a perhaps more tolerable scene. Only, he substituted in thought for the name of the lonely island Lemnos, the name of that great Universe of which he was, and ever would be, part, but from one life in which into another he now meant to emigrate.

χαῖρ' ὦ Αἰνῶν πύλον ἀμφιάλον,
καί μ' εὐπλοῖα πέμψον ἀμέμπτως
ἐνθ' ἡ μεγάλη Μοῖρα κομίζει,
γνώμη τε φίλων, χῶ πανδαμάτωρ
Δαίμων, ὃς ταῦτ' ἐπέκρανε.¹

For a moment he saw the earth and sea, as he had known them, ringed with Eternity. Into that Eternity he begged whatever speeding the universal Fate might grant to him. The stars, visible now, might stand, he thought, his friends; over it all, and through them all, spread the Infinite Spirit, the energy, nay, the love, which thrilled the world and summoned him.

¹ Farewell, oh sea-girt land of Lemnos, and speed me with a fair and flawless sailing, whither the mighty Fate doth fetch me, and the will of friends, and the all-quelling Spirit that hath ratified these things upon me.

Hoisting himself on to the gunwale, he knotted his heavy cloak around his head and plunged.

He sank, and rose, and sank again in the darkness of the night and of the water.

Meanwhile the fisherman, having reached his miserable hut on the extreme verge of the shore, partook with his wife and little children of his evening meal of coarse bread and fish, and the fermented juice of grain. For him, another repast contained a bread and a cup more living and more un-earthly, yet even here, as their hands broke the humble food, awe was in their eyes. Then, seeing that the ill-smelling lamp was about to expire, they turned to where upon the planks of the wall were daubed, again, the Cross, the Fish, the monograms, the olive-sprig, the anchor and the manna-pot: and to the undying Light they sang:

φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἀγίας δόξης
ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,
ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν,
ιδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν,
ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ υἱόν,
καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ.
ἄξιος εἶ ἐν πασὶ καιροῖς
ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ὁσίοις,
υἱὲ θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς·
διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει.¹

Having sung thus they lay down, and slept with much serenity and quiet, till the toilsome day returned, and they rose, and welcomed it.

C. C. MARTINDALE.

¹ O glad Light of the holy glory of the immortal Father, Jesus Christ, having come unto the setting of the sun, and having seen the evening star, we hymn the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit of God. Worthy art Thou at all times to be sung with holy voices, O Son of God, Thou who givest life. Wherefore the Universe doth praise Thee.

The War.

WITH appalling suddenness this war has come upon us, and it bids fair to be a war so terrible that even the Napoleonic wars of a century ago will be found to have fallen short of it in magnitude. All the stages of its sudden development, and all the motives which have led to its outbreak, have been fully discussed, and, apart from an hypothesis which one does not like to accept, its outbreak is altogether incomprehensible. Just before it began we were assured by the Governments involved that none of them wanted it, and with a possible exception, this was undoubtedly true. Why then was it impossible to prevent it by diplomatic action? The *contre-temps* between Austria and Servia was surely capable of a less drastic settlement. All in the West sympathized with the venerable Austrian Emperor in the wrongs he had sustained; all were agreed that the authors of the tragedy of Serajevo, whoever they might be, the immediate assassins only, or treacherous politicians standing behind them, should receive condign punishment, nor is it likely that the Tzar, who has suffered so much in his own person, family, and Ministers, from the hands of assassins, could have wished to protect the perpetrators of like misdeeds against other Sovereigns or their kinsmen and Ministers. What was needed was what our own Government proposed, a conference between representatives of the great nations involved, and had that been accepted, there was surely a likelihood that the dreadful expedient of European War would have been avoided, as it has been on previous occasions. What prevented this? Shall we say it was the mutual distrust with which the great Powers regarded one another? Just as, during the last half-century, each of these Powers has been increasing and strengthening its armaments under the pressure of this distrust, so, when the hour of crisis came, one or two Governments, one at all events, lost its head, and in a fever of excitement, precipitated the collision lest its adversary should be

beforehand with it? Wars in the past have doubtless originated in this way, but it is peculiarly difficult to think that this is the explanation of the present war, when one ponders on its vast magnitude which must have been vividly before the eyes of the Sovereigns who considered their interests at stake, and when one reflects on the personal character of these Sovereigns, and the reputations they have always borne as of rulers with a deep sense of responsibility and an anxious desire to preserve the peace of Europe. Are we then reduced by the method of elimination to the painful hypothesis to which we have alluded, the hypothesis that this is a war of pure aggression, of the most appalling kind, altogether unprovoked, but studiously prepared for many years past, by a Sovereign who seeks to gratify a desire for self-aggrandisement? The thought is too horrible, and, for our part, we cannot believe it of the Kaiser personally. Whether his hand has been forced by an influential party of fire-eaters in his Empire is another matter, and elsewhere in this number we have referred to facts which point unpleasantly in that direction.

Such reflections cannot but impress themselves on the mind at a time like the present. But the war is a fact, and all that it involves is a fact, and we have got to face it. Thank God, we at least can face it with the consciousness, with the certainty, that it was none of our seeking, that it was forced upon us as the only alternative, if we would not do a base action, indeed with the intention of ultimately destroying our liberties, whatever course we might take; forced upon us, forced upon Belgium, and forced upon France. We can face it therefore in the strength of a clear conscience. What it is to bring forth at this early stage no man can tell. The future, said the pagans of old, is on the knees of the gods; the future, says the Christian, is in the hands of God, of the God who, though we walk through the valley of the shadow of death, is always guarding us, is always "our rod and our staff." Let us face this war then in the truest Catholic spirit.

The Cardinal Archbishop, in his short but touching pastoral, read in the churches of his diocese of Westminster on Sunday, August 9th, has reminded us that, if war is one of the greatest of material evils, it has also its salutary lessons to teach us. It teaches us to value more the blessings of peace, by familiarizing us with the horrors of war. It is a solemn reminder of sin, for without the sin of individuals

and nations enmities and consequent hostilities could not exist. It is a reminder of the ideals of life which, in opposition to the world, are set before us by the religion of our Divine Saviour, and lead as surely to peace as the world's ideals lead to wars. It is a reminder of the uncertainty of life, for many, in discharging their duty to their country, must carry their lives in their hands, and of the uncertainty of this world's goods, for it means for so many the fall from wealth to poverty, the fall from modest comfort to destitution. On the other hand, if it causes separations it cements friendships, by bringing together to work for a common cause those hitherto alienated from one another; and it evokes a more lively sense of men's duty to their neighbours by setting before them so vividly the sufferings those neighbours have to endure. And by all this it should move us to turn our hearts to God, in humble penitence for our many sins and the sins of our nation, and frequent and fervent recourse to that Bread of Life, whence comes the spiritual strength to pass through life even in time of war, unharmed and undisturbed.

Miscellanea.

I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES.

The "Church Times" and Pope Pius X.

KINDLY-NATURED Anglicans—and, thank God, there are many such—are apt to complain of the bitterness of tone which is often met with in Catholic controversial literature. While honestly deploring such acerbity wherever it arises, we may at the same time venture to point out that the provocation given in approved organs of Anglican opinion is sometimes of a type which we can only qualify as disgraceful. If anyone thinks this a strong word let him read the leading article of four columns which the *Church Times*, literally on the morrow of the Pope's death,¹ devoted to the career of the deceased pontiff. The note of actual vindictiveness which runs through the whole—a mean vindictiveness which rakes up backstairs gossip and leaves nothing unsaid, while pretending to refrain from saying it—is indescribable. To judge by the tone, we might be reading an article in the *Kölnische Zeitung* on the incapacity of some British Commander-in-Chief. But if that Commander had died the day before, we believe that even a German Chauvinist newspaper would show more respect for the decencies of life than does the leader writer of the *Church Times*, who for the best of reasons will no doubt prefer to remain anonymous. Let us on no account omit to notice that the "Summary" in the same newspaper refers to the late Pope as "the venerable Pontiff," and tells us that "his example of devotion and simplicity, no less than of paternal affection for all committed to his care, has been edifying to the whole world." But while these things are said in a single small paragraph which

¹ The article is in the issue of Aug. 21st, 1914. The Pope died at 1 a.m. on Aug. 20th. To those who know anything of newspaper work it will be plain that the article must have been written beforehand and was, therefore, maturely considered.

nobody reads, the others are placarded in four columns printed in the most conspicuous position and in the largest type. There is not a secular newspaper which has not found room for some sympathetic tribute to the kindly old man stricken down before his due time by his sympathy with the anguish of the world and by the manifold cares of his office. Only the *odium theologicum* of your Anglican divine can revel in the opportunity of pouring out contempt upon the victim and of launching denunciations against his ministers and advisers. At the same time we refuse to believe that the article is in any way representative of the feeling of High Churchmen in general, and from one point of view this thought has its consoling side. Is there not reason to hope that many an honest Anglican in reading it will be led to ask himself where after all the vital issues really lie? At such a time as this when the world seems crumbling to ruin, the question "What is truth?" imposes itself with renewed insistence. Is truth on the side of private judgment, Modernism, chaos and Kikuyu, or does it remain with authority, inspiration and the ascetic, even if uncultured, simplicity of such a Pontiff as Pius X.? If only a man will face the question honestly there need be no fear about the answer. Meanwhile we have a sneaking belief in the substantial truth of the French proverb *Qui mange le Pape en meurt*, and we shall be rather surprised if the fierce anti-papal invective of the *Church Times*, which is in substance nothing but a plea for Modernism, does not in the end do considerably more harm than good to the cause with which the writer identifies himself.

H. T.

Holy Communion outside Mass.

The propriety of administering Holy Communion outside Mass is again being discussed in the Catholic papers, and there seem to be many who hold strong opinions adverse to the custom. No one of course would wish to question the practice of giving Communion outside Mass to the sick, or even to those who are deterred by "a reasonable cause" from receiving it after the priest at the prescribed time during the Mass, just as, on the other hand, all would agree that this last is *in se* the most fitting time to communicate. But there seems to be a grave difference of opinion as to what constitutes

a "reasonable cause," or how far its presence can be regarded as of common occurrence. A recent writer to *The Tablet* (of July 11th) puts the alternative in the concrete in a telling manner. The priest, now dead, who received him into the Church a few years ago preached a course of sermons upon the Mass, and in one of them "inveighed against the 'deplorable innovation' of Communion before Mass, saying that those who without valid excuse received at that time, lose not only the benefit of those prayers which precede the *Domine non sum dignus*, but also show a want of reverence both to the Blessed Sacrament and the sacrificing priest." C.E.B., the writer of this letter, himself in full sympathy with "his instructor's precepts," is scandalized that in the majority of the churches he comes across all go to Communion at the beginning of Mass, and a man is thought peculiar if he presents himself, as a solitary communicant, at the proper time after the priest's Communion. As for this allegation of fact, it is surely excessive to say that "in the majority of churches" the laity receive their Communion before Mass so generally, that a man asking for Communion at the proper time within the Mass would be thought guilty of inconveniencing the priest. What is usual is that the communicants are given a double opportunity of receiving Communion, at the beginning or after the priest's Communion, and it would not therefore be thought incongruous for any of those present to choose of the two times the one that suited them best. As for the good priest's invective against "the deplorable modern innovation" of Communion before Mass, we must say that his indignation carried him to excess, for a custom which goes back at least to the time of Paul V., who published the *Rituale Romanum* we now use, not to speak of earlier times when the customs it embodies or sanctions were gradually being fixed locally, cannot well be called a "modern innovation," nor one which has been thus sanctioned by the highest spiritual authority be called a "deplorable" one. The *Ordo administrandi sacram Communionem* in this *Rituale*, in fact, seems to assume that giving Communion *outside* Mass is the more ordinary practice of the two. This title which it bears implies as much. It prescribes this rite not as exceptional but simply as "The Order for administering Communion."

The priest [says the introductory rubric] when about to administer the Holy Eucharist, having put on a surplice and a stole of the colour suitable for the day . . . goes to the altar . . .

takes out the pyx . . . afterwards proceeds to give Communion . . . restores the Blessed Sacrament to the tabernacle . . . then blesses those who have communicated . . . returning to the altar may say *O sacrum convivium* . . . restores the Blessed Sacrament to the Tabernacle . . . then, extending his hand, blesses those who have communicated.

It is not before the two concluding rubrics that this *Ordo* refers to Communion within the Mass, and then only as to an alternative method that can be employed.

The communion of the people when [given] within the Mass should be given immediately after the communion of the celebrating priest (except when for a reasonable cause it is to be given after Mass) seeing that the Prayers which in the Mass are said after the Communion refer not only to the priest but also to the others who are communicating . . . When the communion is finished, he returns to the altar, saying nothing, and does not give the blessing, because he will be giving it at the end of Mass. . . . If it should happen that immediately after the Mass is finished some people sometimes come to communicate, then the priest being still vested in his chasuble shall administer [to them] communion in the way described above.

What is there in all this to indicate or imply that the practice of Communion outside Mass is one that the Church discourages, and permits, not without regret, only in cases of exceptional difficulty? Will it be thought that this penultimate rubric involves this, by insisting on the applicancy of the Post-communion Prayers to the main body of the communicants, and not to the celebrating priest only? But the whole context shows that the antithesis in this passage is not between those who communicate before the Mass begins, or otherwise outside Mass, but to those who, having heard the Mass through, choose, somewhat perversely, to come up for their Communion not at the appointed time in the Mass, but when the Mass they have been hearing is over; nor does it even then allege as the cause of their impropriety the separation of their Communion from the sacrifice, but the delay of their Communion till the Post-communion prayers are over. Besides, all the authors agree, as testifies, with citations given, Father James O'Kane, in his *Notes on the Rubrics* (p. 703), that a sufficient reason for deferring Communion till the end of Mass is the very mundane one, that the congregation may not be kept too long waiting for the conclusion of Mass." And Benedict XIV. (*De Sacrificio Missæ*, lib. iii. cap. xix.)

cites with approval Thiers (*De Superstitione*) as holding that "those are too superstitious in their adherence to antiquity who think that Communion cannot be given outside Mass." It is clear then that we have the very decided sanction of the Holy See for giving Communion outside Mass, and this also is the answer to those who sometimes tell us that to do so is to commit the enormity of separating the Sacrament from the Sacrifice. If that were involved it is inconceivable that the Church should sanction the practice in any case whatever: still more that she should sanction, as she does, the custom, so universal, and, in large churches, so practically necessary, of giving Communion out of the ciborium instead of with particles consecrated at the Mass itself at which they are administered. But the truth is that, inasmuch as all hosts are consecrated in the Mass, they never lose their character of being for the recipient the fruits of the Sacrifice, whatever be the time when they are consumed by them.

In opposing the contention of those who would unduly restrict the giving Communion out of Mass, we repeat it, we freely allow that Communion within the Mass, after the priest's Communion, is the normal time. The whole construction of the Liturgy indicates that. By all means let us encourage Communions at that time where it is practicable, as so frequently it is. In religious communities, for instance, apart from special circumstances, it usually is practicable, or again in schools. What we are contending for is that, in the judgment of the Church, as expressed in her approved formularies, and in the wide-spread usage that goes on under her eyes, Communions outside Mass are not only not to be rebuked, but on the contrary are to be commended wherever there is a good cause for them; and such a cause there is for them quite ordinarily in these days, when, practically, if a priest in his church puts hindrances in the way of Communions before Mass he renders impossible for many of his congregation that practice of daily Communion which Pius X. has urged so strongly.

S. F. S.

II. TOPICS OF THE MONTH.

**Who is
to blame?**

Deeply as men of all nationalities must feel the pity of a time like this, it must come home still more acutely to those who, besides the allegiance they owe to their own country, owe another kind of allegiance to the Church that embraces all nations, yet without slackening but rather strengthening their loyalty to their own country. As Catholics it is especially pitiable for us that Germans, whose Catholicism has so many characteristics akin to our own, should be the subjects of the present estrangement from us. But in regard to this crisis, especially its occasions, it is necessary, to distinguish. Not merely facts well known to the public, but assurances given to the present writer, and lately renewed, by English Catholics intimately acquainted with German society, convince us that the elaborate structure of self-aggrandisement, which has been in the making during the last twenty years, in no way reflects German feeling as a whole; least of all that of Catholic Germany, Rhenish or Southern. Even as a Prussian product it is, we are assured on the same authority, the work of a dominant fire-eating caste, imposing its will on a people that as a whole desired nothing better than to live in peace with their fellow-men. Nor, as we have suggested elsewhere, do we conceive the German Sovereign to have been in this respect of other mind than his people. A week after the declaration of war the well-informed Berlin correspondent of *The Times* recorded the view that the course of events had "caused his Majesty to lose his head" till "for the first time he abandoned the part of keeper of the peace." "He removed his restraining hand, and Germany drifted slowly but surely through the cross currents to the ultimatum to Russia and to war. Instead of drawing back from the abyss Germany fell in."

**A Theory
and a
Miscalculation.**

It is impossible not to discern the sinister force pushing from behind which was working upon him and in the end prevailed. It has made itself too plain in the works of writers, such as von Treitschke and Bernhardi, and was only lately summarized and emphasized in the latter's *Deutschland und der nächste Krieg*, which attracted much attention in certain influential circles. Openly and unashamed this gospel of self-aggrandisement bases itself upon sheer brute force. An aggressive war is for Germany a "biological necessity." Morals, especially as regards treaty obligations and rights of neutrals, are a superstition to be brushed contemptuously aside. It is simply Nietzsche in politics, the atheistic goal of Rationalism in one of its aspects;

and it is largely responsible by reaction for the recent growth in Germany of Socialism, the goal of Rationalism in another aspect. No Catholic, of whatever nationality, could have part or lot in such a gospel, and in this respect we couple with our fellow-Catholics of Germany the mass of her people and their Sovereign personally. As regards our own nation, we cannot but refer to the contrast between the facts and the anticipations. It was confidently believed that England would suffer any violation of international righteousness that did not touch her own skin, and it was intended that after her friends had been crushed in detail she should be separately disposed of. Such was the plan, according to writers like Bernhardi. And so great is the strength of suggestion that three years ago level-headed observers like Captain (now Admiral) Mahan felt bound, in his lectures on Naval Strategy, to take count of the possibility that in just such a situation as has now arisen, Great Britain would fail to make herself felt.

**Enemies
and yet
not Enemies.**

Still, whilst in full sympathy with the action of our own Government, we cannot forget, least of all can English Catholics forget, the effect of this outbreak of war on those of German nationality. Such a crisis rallies them all to their flag, and makes them the "enemies" of those who are convinced, as Englishmen today are convinced, they are fighting for the existence of law in Europe and doing their part in "killing the creed of war." But as between Christians and Catholics, "enemies" in what sense? Nothing is more facile, and nothing more futile, than the Voltairian jeer at Masses said in opposing camps for the success of one's own arms and the confusion of one's opponents? For, of course, all Christian prayer is offered first of all subject to the acknowledged limitations of human ignorance, and ignorance need affect neither the good faith of the prayer nor the outpouring of mercy pledged in answer. And secondly, it is offered always with the proviso *fiat voluntas tua*, explicit far more often than those think who do not pray, and never very far below the surface of consciousness. From the standpoint of those who are convinced that the Powers of the *Entente* are here fighting in defence of moral principles wantonly attacked, it is yet perfectly easy to see how nationals on the opposite side, misled as to the issues, or even with their eyes open forced into a crisis not of their individual making, may conceive themselves to be fighting in self-defence. In that case it is no paradox, but the solidest ground of hope for the future, to say that the prayers of both will mingle and rise as an acceptable incense before the common Lord, who, though for a time He may loose Satan on the earth for our chastisement, will answer abundantly in His

own time. In the long run the only real "enemies" of humanity, or of any section of it, are they who, in whatever degree, have not sought God in their dealings with their fellow-men, and so have become the authors of the evil deed.

**The Germans
in England.**

Connected with this question of preserving, under stress of this great trial which has cast us into opposite camps, our underlying brotherhood with Catholics (and not only Catholics) of German birth, is the question of our attitude towards those Germans who, by the necessity of their business, or of their presence in this country at the moment of so unexpected an outbreak of war, find themselves in the midst of a hostile population with whom they must remain till the war is over. The people of this country have the reputation of being cool-headed, and their conduct on the whole has been good in this respect. That, in a time of general excitement, some giddy heads should give an anti-German direction to their rowdiness is deplorable, but difficult to avoid. And the difficulty is complicated by the apparent presence in our midst of some of our foes who think to serve their country by cutting telegraph wires and committing depredations of one kind or another. But it is for the public authorities to deal with these matters, and ours may be trusted to do their part with effectiveness tempered by humanity. For ourselves we may see opportunities for doing a work of humanity and charity by striving to lighten the lot of those of German race who have grown attached to the land of their adoption as well as that of their origin, and form a very precious influence making for peace between the two countries with which they are thus connected, for its maintenance while it is intact, for its restoration when it is interrupted.

**Reaping
what was sown.**

Though it appears impossible to regard the crime of Serajevo as having furnished a reason, or more than a pretext, for the outbreak of a war so appalling in its dimensions, the foul murder of Franz Ferdinand and his consort was an event to fill the world with horror, and has a lesson for Europe that cannot be set aside. Mr. Seton-Watson, in his article on the subject in the *Contemporary* for August (and no one has higher authority on all subjects concerning the Southern Slavs of the Dual Monarchy than "Scotus Viator"), traces it not to the politicians—to whom indeed it was a calamity from any point of view—but to those organizations against the law of God and man which are spread throughout Europe from East to West and find their favourite recruiting-ground in the hot-headedness of youth. In Southern Slav-

dom, as elsewhere, "at an age when English boys are absorbed in cricket and football, raw, unbalanced youths are seduced into the 'Propaganda of the Deed.'" Both of the assassins at Serajevo were "students," and the product of the same sort of organized materialism and infidelity as is represented by the *Ecole Laïque* of France and the *Escuela Moderna* of Spain. Only a few weeks later a Jaurès was to reap in France what he had sown, as a Canalejas had done before him in Spain. And in the same class must be placed the assassination of M. Calmette, together with the misdoings of M. Caillaux and his two wives. They are the natural fruits of anti-Christian teaching. By these methods the meanest of men may strike down the noblest, and as Mrs. Bellamy Storer, a valued friend of them both, testifies in the *Catholic World* for August, "the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Duchess of Hohenburg were a man and wife whose deep love for each other, and devotion to their young children, had made their home a model for every Christian household in Austria." So, too, was their death for all Christian men and women. "The victims," says the Serajevo correspondent of *America*, "were carried into the Government building where the Bishop of Mostar gave absolution. The Duchess was not dead, her lips moved in prayer while the anointing took place. The morning of their death both had assisted at Mass with great devotion. The Archduke himself lived in expectation of just such a death. He repeatedly spoke of it, and never failed to go to Confession and Communion before leaving for a journey." Such men are a loss to the world. Can we doubt that had the Archduke lived all his powerful influence would have been exercised to stay the ruthless advocates of "biological necessities"?

**The
Eucharistic
Congresses.**

An effect of the war is to divert attention from the subjects which were interesting us up to the moment of its outbreak. This is an effect which we must count with, particularly in regard to our Topics of the Month. Still, as in hours of the heaviest personal sorrow we do not altogether lay aside other interests, so now we must keep our usual place for the happenings of the past month. After all, the war cannot last always, and, whatever changes it may bring about it cannot touch these underlying movements which concern so deeply the good of religion or social work. In the closing days of July the Eucharistic Congress was held at Lourdes. As in this Congress the splendid series of Eucharistic gatherings attained its Silver Jubilee, it affords a vantage point from which one may look back and admire the Providence of God, Who, in these days of indifference and spreading unbelief, of subtle seductions and cruel persecutions,

has raised up this peaceful but potent means of strengthening Catholic faith, and encouraging it to manifest itself openly and triumphantly. The beginnings of the movement were, like those of so many of God's greatest works, modest and local. The first Congress was held at Lille, and was due to the initiative of Bishop Gaston de Ségur, seconded by one who was in his day affectionately called "the good man of Lille," M. Philibert Verau. Though it failed to attract wide-spread attention it was consoling enough in itself, and served to give concrete form to the idea of annual gatherings with the object of helping Catholics to realize more deeply the treasures of grace they possess in the Blessed Sacrament. And the idea caught on. Similar Congresses have been held ever since in a succession of suitable centres, not quite every year but with such regularity that, whereas the Lille Congress was in 1881, the Silver Jubilee is reached in 1914. Some of these Congresses have been marked by special features which have caused them to stand out among the rest as conspicuous landmarks of Catholic progress. Thus the Congress of 1893 was remarkable as being held at Jerusalem and affording the touching spectacle of the unity and concord subsisting between the Catholics of the Latin and of the Greek-Uniat rite, in the very spot where our Lord's dying words of exhortation to unity, were spoken. From that time Oriental Catholics have been not rarely seen at the Congresses, nor was the object-lesson realized of unity between Easterns and Westerns, set by that Jerusalem Congress, lost upon the Schismatics who witnessed it there. The Congress of 1905 was held at Rome, the Supreme Pontiff himself taking an active part in it, and following it up that same year by his decree, *Tridentina Synodus*, which has led to the enormous multiplication of Daily Communions, a result we may therefore surely count as among the fruits of the Eucharistic Congresses. We in this country have not forgotten the marvellous London Congress of 1908. Held in a country where Catholics are so small an element in the general population, it appeared, whilst it was still in prospect, inconceivable that it should be able to compete with the fine Congresses that had made such an impression in more favoured centres. Yet by the acknowledgment of the Holy Father himself in his letter of congratulation to the Archbishop of Westminster: "though it was the first of its kind in England it must be looked on as the greatest of all, for its concourse of illustrious men, for the weight of its deliberations, for its display of faith and the magnificence of its religious functions." And we know how, by its example, it gave a spur to the later Congresses, which have been of a higher order altogether as compared with those that went before.

**The
Lourdes
Congress.**

No more fitting place for the Jubilee Congress than Lourdes could have been imagined. The government of the Church is, as we know, on one side visible, on the other invisible. The former culminates in the Supreme Pontiff, the source and seat of whose authority is Rome, the Eternal City. The latter, which regards the distribution of His gifts and graces, the Divine Founder of the Church keeps in His own hands, choosing now one place, now another, for those more signal manifestations of His presence or power which from time to time He vouchsafes as a concession to human weakness or human need. For the present age we may truly say that Lourdes is the place chosen before all others for such manifestations. It is our Bethel, where heaven and earth meet together as they do nowhere else. How becoming that it should be chosen for the Eucharistic Congress that was to mark an epoch! The report of the papers read and addresses delivered has not yet been published. But the chief thing on this special occasion was not that the mystery of the Blessed Sacrament should be expounded, however helpfully, but that faith in it should be publicly expressed by those multitudes, separated in space but united in faith, that Lourdes, though itself but a country town, can bring together as no other place, unless it be Rome, is able to do. And this it did, by its processions of the Blessed Sacrament, marked by a splendour of devotion rather than of external ceremony, that by the testimony of those who were there surpassed all expectations. Elsewhere the crowning act of a Eucharistic Congress has been the Eucharistic procession at its close. At Lourdes there were two such processions every day, those in the evening in which the visitors and the people of the neighbouring villages joined together, reaching a number estimated at some 15,000. If some of these Congresses stand out among their fellows by some special features that have marked them, this Lourdes Congress of 1914 may become remarkable for the attention it has drawn towards the wonders done in Lourdes during the last half century. That period has been one of cultured and supercilious unbelief. Miracles, it has been declared, cannot happen. They do not happen now-a-days, and it is incredible therefore that they happened, as alleged, in the days of Christ. Yet, apart from miracles, so they say, there is no proof of the reality of the supernatural, and apart from the reality of the supernatural, there is no evidence of the existence of God. All this has been put forward with the utmost confidence and the trial for faith has been hard. But the long succession of marvels at Lourdes, which, taken as a whole, bear all the marks of miraculous intervention, is God's challenge to the unbelief of the age. The forces of unbelief have sought to condemn them, to ignore them, to accuse them, to explain them by

one naturalistic hypothesis after another, but always to keep at a safe distance from them. This tortuous policy must break down, as more and more honest but competent minds become familiarized with the facts. May not the Congress help gravely towards this end?

**Animal
Psychology.**

We have often felt that the good cause of Kindness to Animals suffers much from the sentimentality, or rather, the irrationality, of some of its adherents.¹ Any plea for the brute creation based on the supposition that it differs only in degree and not in kind from the human is essentially unsound, and like all fallacies, can only harm the cause it is brought to support. To ascribe personality in the strict human sense, that is, the possession of a spiritual immaterial soul, with its endowments of intellect and free will, to non-human animals, is wholly contrary to the teaching and practice of the Church. If it could be shown that the lower sentient creation were the same in nature as ourselves, only less fully developed, and therefore capable, like the young of the human species, of attaining, without change of nature, to the use of reason properly so-called, then the Church would be convicted of having erred in a matter of essential morality. The reason is that all through her history she has sanctioned the use of animals as "things," not as "persons," "things" to be lawfully subordinated to the various needs of man. She denounces cruelty, she enjoins kindness to animals, not because they are akin to us as potentially human, but because cruelty is an offence against God and kind treatment for God's sake is a virtue. Catholics, therefore, even those unskilled in psychology, have a clear and definite rule to keep them from going astray or going too far in their cultivation of kindliness to irrational animals. It is wrong to treat them as persons or to maintain that the appearance of rational action sometimes perceptible in them is due to their actually possessing a reasoning soul. Every now and then the papers record curious instances of "thinking" or calculating horses or pigs or dogs. Some of these performances have been explained, as were the feats of "Princess Trixie," and "Clever Hans²": other cases, such as that of the Elberfeld horses, have so far puzzled investigators. And now, more extraordinary performances still are recorded of a dog at Mannheim named Rolf, which, if true, would certainly establish his claim to be a rational animal. This creature is said not only to grasp abstract ideas, but also to express them in the Mannheim dialect by an alphabet invented for him. So we are told in the *Theo-*

¹ In a recent number of the *Animals' Friend* a provincial Mayor is held up to obloquy as teaching cruelty because, in the interests of public health, he has offered a prize to the child who destroys the most flies during the summer!

² See THE MONTH, Aug., 1913, p. 209.

sophist, on the authority of Dr. Mackenzie, to whom this remarkable dog is said to have written or tapped out a letter asking for his photograph!

It would take a Theosophist to believe that.

**The
Living
Wage.**

That many Catholics do not *practically* admit the principle of the Living Wage is not the fault of the Catholic Church. More than a generation ago Leo XIII. gave emphatic prominence to the Church's traditional teaching, viz., that the first charge on land and industry is the decent support of those whose labour makes them productive. The whole authority and influence of the Church is behind this dictate of natural justice, which, it may be remembered, the C.S.G. took as the subject of their mass meeting at the Plymouth Congress last year, and which they have expounded in several booklets and pamphlets. Other Christian bodies also have seen its paramount importance. Unfortunately Anglicanism cannot speak with one voice, but many of the prelates and leading men, notably the Bishop of Oxford, have endorsed the principle. Lately (May 7th) the Upper House of the Convocation of York gave it explicit and unanimous adherence, and we believe the English Presbyterian Synod has recently passed a similar resolution. That in many cases the principle cannot be applied at present is in itself an indication that industrial conditions are largely unchristian and an incentive to unite in remedying them. After all, a man must either support himself or be supported by the community. Our enormous expenditure on elementary education, poor relief, old age pensions, compulsory insurance and such national charges is directly due to the existence of a proletariat—a vast wage-earning class, who have few possessions except their ability to work and who are therefore dependent for actual existence on irresponsible employers, or, in default, on the community as a whole.

**Against
Immoral
Literature.**

The "Pure Literature Crusade," which began in Limerick in the autumn of 1911 and rapidly spread through the chief towns in Ireland, has evidently been organized on a very steady basis, for even after the first wave of enthusiasm has spent itself, it is still to be found full of vigour and energy, bent on continuing its admirable work of stemming the flood of immoral newspapers and periodicals which are poured into that country from England. On Sunday, June 14th, the Dublin Vigilance Committee held its annual procession by means of which it keeps the public informed of its existence and its work. At the subsequent meeting Father MacInerney, O.P., was able to report that the Committee had been instrumental during the past year in re-shipping back to

England some tons of objectionable papers. That is a work which must appeal to all lovers of morality. The laws are rightly very stringent about excluding diseased cattle from our ports: it is no less urgent to keep out the tainted mental garbage which a Godless commercialism is constantly producing for sale. Father MacInerney instanced the conduct of New Zealand and Australia, which exercise a censorship over literary matter imported, as a model for governments nearer home. It is significant that the Protestant *Irish Times* is opposed to this admirable movement.

"Civics"
in
Ireland.

We have more than once pointed to Ireland as the field wherein the success of the application of Christian principles to problems of modern industrialism, and of political economy generally, has the best chance of being most effectively displayed. To a community which, despite of "dungeon, fire and sword," has persistently and effectively repudiated Protestant individualism in religion, and hence possesses substantially that altruistic social sense which is the natural outcome of the Catholic Faith, there has come at long last the immediate prospect of being able to realize its own Catholic ideals in economics. What amounted to the imposition of an alien civilization has hitherto hampered the growth of those ideals. That the community recognizes its new powers and the duties they involve is evidenced by the striking "Civics Exhibition" which has been held in Dublin during the last two months. Therein the duty of Society towards those on whose lowly, constant and courageous labour the whole of Society rests is preached with every variety of emphasis. The securing of decent home-surroundings, proper food, reasonable recreation, safety from preventible disease, for the working classes is pointed out as the essential prerequisite for a healthy Christian community. And an open acknowledgment of Ireland's backwardness in many of these requirements gives favourable augury of the dawn of a new era. Besides this negative side there are to be found in the Dublin Exhibition plans, schemes and suggestions, exhaustive and well-considered, for the development of Ireland's peculiar resources and industries, hitherto hampered by faulty methods and want of foresight.

The recent establishment of a Chair of Civics at Maynooth, the development of the "Leo Guild," the Irish counterpart of the C.S.G., and the timely economic publications of the *Irish Messenger* are all cheering evidences that we may look to New Ireland to emulate and even improve upon gallant little Belgium as a convincing illustration of how "all these things" are in truth added to such as "seek first the Kingdom of God."

**Protestant
Agents in
the Philippines.**

America is, as we know, a land of extremes. Nowhere is the Church more flourishing; nowhere, by a sort of natural consequence, are her enemies more violent and unprincipled.

The growth of civilization has made the old methods of the A.P.A. obsolete, and a campaign of press-slander has taken the place of the former system of murder and arson. Bad as are our Protestant gutter-journals in this country, they are decent and truthful compared with papers like the *Menace*, which New Zealand has banished from its mails as quite too rotten for popular tolerance. The spirit of this poisonous sheet seems to have spread beyond the States to some of the American possessions. A report has reached us through the Society of the Divine Word, Techny, Ill., of some of the methods of Protestant propaganda in the Philippines, directed not to the pagans of those islands but to the Catholic natives. In addition to the usual fatuous Bible-distribution, free medical advice, &c., with which Ireland is familiar, these slanderers of their brethren have introduced a cinematograph exhibition in which, amidst a series of instructive and amusing scenes, they insinuate a film entitled "Life of the Pope." This, apparently, is a production too filthy to describe in detail but its character may be sufficiently indicated by the fact that a number of the Pope's "wives" are shown on the screen. The money for this unholy apostolate is, of course, supplied by Protestants in the States. What singular obliquity of moral vision seems to be induced by this creed which stops at no dishonesty, no impiety, no falsehood, no obscenity, if so it can injure the Church Catholic. Catholic opinion is strongly operative in the States themselves. At Winona, Minnesota, a bogus ex-nun, employed by the *Menace*, was arrested on the sworn complaint of a Catholic resident on May 11th, tried, convicted of the use of language unfit for public address, and fined, and further debarred by municipal order from the use of the public halls of the city. Spirited public action of this sort may not be possible in the Philippines, but we trust that something may be done there to preserve the Catholic natives through official sources from preachers who would make of them children of hell, twofold more (if possible) than themselves.

III. NOTES ON THE PRESS.

[A summary survey of current periodicals with a view to recording useful articles, 1) expounding Catholic doctrine and practice, 2) exposing heresy and bigotry, and 3) of general Catholic interest.]

CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE.

Assumption, The: its definability as a dogma. Abbé Renardin's book described and estimated [Rev. B. L. Conway, C.S.P., in *Catholic World*, Aug. 1914, p. 646].

Baptism: historical discussion of method of administering [Rev. C. F. Rogers in *Church Quarterly*, July, 1914, p. 388].

Breviary: Cardinal Tommasi and the reform of [O. Premoli in *Scuola Cattolica*, Aug. 1914, p. 410].

Communion, Holy: Ritual of [H. Thurston, S.J., in *Month*, Sept. 1914, p. 276].

Early Church: recent contributions in France and England to history of [Professor C. H. Turner in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1914].

Eucharist, St. Paul and the Holy [Father Lattey, S.J., in *Catholic World*, Aug. 1914, p. 657].

Labour Problem in Middle Ages: Its religious element [Rev. J. O'Grady in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Aug. 1914, p. 158].

Mysticism: Abbé Sandreau replies to his critics [*Ciudad de Dios*, July 20, 1914, p. 90].

Vows: nature and extent of Papal dispensation of [*Examiner*, July 11, 1914, p. 272].

CATHOLIC DEFENCE.

Bergson, the Idol of French contemporary Philosophy: close criticism of [E. Ugarte de Ereilla in *Razón y Fé*, Aug. 1914, p. 452].

Casuistry, Catholic: defended [*Ami du Clergé*, June, 1914].

Eugenics and Mental Diseases [L. F. Flich, M.D., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Aug. 1914, p. 151].

Haackel, The Three Exposures of [*Examiner*, July 11, July 18, July 25, 1914].

Mexico: effects of the present conflict on Church in [T. Leclercq in *La Revue Generale*, June, 1914. J. L. Suarez in *Revista de ciencias economicas*, June, 1914. *America*, July 25, 1914, p. 337; also p. 359, and Aug. 8, 1914, p. 389. E. Lugranges in *Rosary Magazine*, Aug. 1914, p. 217].

Modernism and Historic Christianity: non-Catholic tribute to Catholic position [Professor Burkitt on "Under Pontius Pilate" in *Comment and Criticism*, May, 1914, p. 10; also Rev. E. G. Selwyn on "The Historic Christ" in same, Aug. 1914, p. 62].

Obedience, The Virtue of: in relation to modern Feminism and other subjects [W. S. Lilly in *Nineteenth Century and After*, Aug. 1914, p. 429].

"Pope Joan," the fable of [E. Vacandard in *Revue du Clergé Français*, June 25, 1914].

Renan: the dilettantism of [F. Ogliaiti in *Scuola Cattolica*, Aug. 1914, p. 434].

South America: facts as to observance of marriage law [J. R. de la Torre Bueno in *America*, Aug. 8, 1914, p. 396].

Syndical Idea and Christianity, The [Father A. Vermeersch, S.J., in *Le Mouvement Social*, July 15, 1914, p. 1; also *Revue d'Economie Politique*, June, 1914, p. 276]. The Guild system [H. R. King in *Irish Review*, Aug. 1914, p. 226].

POINTS OF CATHOLIC INTEREST.

Alfred Jewel, The: and religion of King Alfred [Marian Nesbitt in *Ave Maria*, July, 1914, p. 97].

Bacon, Friar Roger [Robert Steele in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1914].

Crusade, The Children's [Full article by D. C. Munro in *American Historical Review*, July, 1914].

Denmark, Present position of the Church in [C. M. Waage in *Catholic World*, Aug. 1914, p. 577].

France: testimony to revival of religion among men in [Rev. E. B. Tatum in *Tablet*, Aug. 15, 1914, p. 255]. The same among medical men [H. Dauchez in *America*, July 25, 1914, p. 343]. The literary movement towards the Church [R. Aigrau in *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, Aug. 1914, p. 657].

Franciscan Order: its branches and their origins [Father D. Devas, O.F.M., in *Month*, Aug. 1914, p. 169; Sept. 1914, p. 241].

Germany, South: how saved to Catholicism [J. B. Williams in *Month*, Sept. 1914, p. 253]. The break-up of Protestantism in Germany [A. D. M'Laren in *Hibbert Journal*, July, 1914, p. 721].

Kikuyu: Issues of [Professor Barnes in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1914. Bishop Welldon in *Daily Chronicle*, July 27, 1914. Full text of Bishop Weston's statement to Archbishop's Committee, *Church Times*, Aug. 7, 1914, p. 168].

Mithraism [Full article by Professor H. Stuart Jones in *Quarterly Review*, July, 1914].

Science and Vitalism: modern return to older thought [B. G. Swindells, S.J., in *Month*, Sept. 1914, p. 228].

Scripture, Holy: methods of translation for popular use [Rev. A. Nairne in *Church Quarterly*, April, 1914, p. 406].

Servia and the Holy See [Very Rev. O. Donnelly, O.P., in *Ecclesiastical Review*, Aug. 1914, p. 129].

Slav Catholics in Austria: their difficulties and problems [Miss E. Christich in *Tablet*, Aug. 15, 1914, p. 237. M. Paul Parsy in *British Review*, Aug. 1914, p. 193].

Social Study, Catholic summer schools at Besançon and Versailles [A. Danset in *Le Mouvement Social*, July 15, 1914, p. 34].

Society of Jesus: Centenary of the Restoration of [Civiltà Cattolica, Aug. 1, 1914, p. 257 and 271. Father E. King, S.J., in *Irish Monthly*, Aug. 1914, p. 417]. The work of expelled Swiss Jesuits since 1847 [Father J. Mundweiler, S.J., in *Neue Zürcher Nachrichten*, reprinted in *Catholic Herald of India*, July 22, 1914, p. 467]. Manresa and the Society of Jesus [Bishop of Vich in *Razón y Fé*, Aug. 1914, p. 531].

Uganda: The Catholic Church in [Dom Maternus Spitz, O.S.B., in *Tablet*, Aug. 8, 1914, p. 202; Aug. 15, p. 238].

United States: organization for Catholic Social Work [A. F. Brockland in *America*, Aug. 8, 1914, p. 395]. The Old Missions of California. Illustrated [Rev. L. Engelhardt, O.F.M., in *Rosary Magazine*, Aug. 1914, p. 123].

Reviews.

I.—THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REFUGEES IN FLANDERS.¹

NO one will read many pages of Dr. Guilday's *English Catholic Refugees on the Continent* without perceiving that it is clearly *the* book of the year on the history of our Church. Not that it sets forth startling theories, or remarkable discoveries, but because it gathers together, and puts within everyone's reach a great, a quite unexpected wealth of information on those generations of our ancestors, who in humility and obscurity laboured successfully to preserve the light of the Faith in all its purity, and in every phase of the religious life. To tell the whole of that great story will of course take several volumes. In this we read the history of what was then the citadel of Catholic England, that is, its religious foundations in Flanders. First, those of the Carthusians and Nuns of Syon, then the great English Seminary at Douay, then the settlements of the Jesuits and Benedictines, with the various colleges under their charge. Then those of Mary Ward (an especially good chapter), and of the various Orders, monasteries and convents of nuns, Benedictine, Franciscan, Carmelite; besides those of Franciscan and Dominican Friars. As the reader sees, the importance of the subject cannot easily be overstated. We are within the mark when we describe these particular settlements, under various metaphors, as the very sanctuary and the Sion of our Church, or again, as the flower and the seed-plot of our Faith. Yet for the sake of completeness we must also remember that we have still to hear of the subsidiary houses outside Flanders, especially those in Paris. Paris lay just in the way between London and Rome, and its occasional epidemics of Gallicanism and Jansenism had some serious

¹ *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558—1795. Vol. I. English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries. By the Rev. Peter Guilday, D.Sc. (History). London: Longmans. Pp. xi, 480. Price, 12s. 6d. net. 1914.*

consequences for us. Besides this, we have also to survey the English mission-field and to study the government of the whole English Church, which, proceeding from the Holy See, was in the hands of churchmen of all ranks, some in England, some in Brussels, Paris, Douay and Spain.

The settlements in Flanders, the corporate life of which Dr. Guilday has undertaken to bring clearly before us, are over forty in number, and fall into some fifteen religious families (counting the secular clergy as one such family), and their stories, grouped together and told in detail, make up the various chapters of the book. Homes of peace though they were, few of them escaped severe trials, and even grave dangers.

There were the many wars for which poor Belgium has so often been the cock-pit, ending in the conflagration of the French Revolution. There were domestic broils of many sorts, difficulties of ecclesiastical government (as for instance, those that befell poor Mary Ward), as well as the constant pressure of poverty. Uneventful, in fact, as conventual life may be in normal circumstances, the settlements in Flanders rarely knew the happiness of having no history.

This history is followed for a period of 237 years, from the accession of Elizabeth, 1558, to the French Revolution in Flanders, 1795. The first part of this period, 1558 to 1643, was the time of greatest activity and of the greatest success. The second period, especially after the great Revolution of 1688, resolved itself into a struggle of endurance against poverty and the penal laws, and the French Revolution, which drove everyone home again, may in retrospect be called a blessing in disguise, the disguise nevertheless being so formidable that it took a generation to recover from its effects. Thus the first period of the exile is the most interesting and important. So great indeed was its success that, though it started from nothing, the numbers of English religious houses, and of their inmates, before 1642 reached a figure so high that one may doubt whether it was equalled for two hundred years after, that is until the time of the Oxford movement. Unfortunately, Dr. Guilday, who is stronger in details than in their combination into clear summaries, offers us but few statistics or general conclusions wherewith to test problems of this sort. In the subsequent volumes we shall hope for a fuller and more lucid exposition of the great principles which underlie the details here fur-

nished in such abundance. The gain from a literary point of view would also be considerable.

From the point of view of the scientific historian the most valuable fresh information is that derived from the Propaganda Archives, which the author has studied to excellent purpose, and he gives us copies, extracts and references, which will be of very wide and useful application. We have also many new pieces cited from the Vatican, as well as from Simancas, the Record Office, and from quite a number of English Catholic archives; while the bibliography is everywhere exact, ample, and to the point.

No doubt there will be some who will be at first disconcerted at finding Dr. Guilday taking up from time to time some view about the history of their own religious family, which is at variance with those previously received. But we have not noticed any that was not perfectly fair and open to any serious critic. Nor, where an adverse criticism is passed, is this ever done in a mordant ungracious tone. Absolute unanimity on all these subjects is impossible, nor have we even yet, as Dr. Guilday often reminds us, enough evidence before us to carry us on to final judgments on many points, as, for instance, on those domestic quarrels to which allusion has been made above.

2.—SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY.¹

(1) The volumes of Mr. Piercey's *Library of Historic Theology* have as their common object to present "a general survey of the present position of thought and knowledge in various branches of the wide field which is included in the study of divinity." Dr. Bonney, therefore, the author of the present volume, undertakes a subject of primary importance in the pursuance of the general scheme, and, as a man of note in the work of physical research, he is one whom his readers will be likely to hear with confidence. In the first two chapters, which are on recent advances in physical science and the present position of biology, this confidence is to a large extent justified. Certainly these chapters contain much useful and up-to-date information which theologians of all classes will be glad to have. In the next three chapters, on

¹ (1) *Library of Historic Theology*. Edited by the Rev. W. C. Piercey, M.A. *The Present Relations of Science and Religion*. By T. G. Bonney, Sc.D., F.R.S. London: Robert Scott. Pp. x, 212. Price, 5s. 1913.

ideas of religion and their developments, on the probabilities of a revelation, and the possibility and place of miracles, knowledge of experimental science does not come in so much, but Dr. Bonney writes as one who has bestowed thought on the points involved. Hence there is much which is of value in this part of the volume.

At the same time we cannot but regard as mistaken his method of subordinating the proper evidence for theism to the vicissitudes of scientific theorizing. Unless the evidence for theism, and even for the whole contents of the Christian revelation, attains to the degree of certainty, it is of no value at all, for we cannot worship God with an "if." Scientific theorizing on the other hand is essentially uncertain; theories that were confidently stated a generation ago have gone out of fashion by now, and we cannot be certain that those in fashion now will not be in their turn superseded some day. Nor is there any need to risk the fate of our religious ideas by attaching them to such uncertain anchorage. To physical facts, indeed, they must be anchored, but only to such broad and general facts as can never become matter of doubt. In other ways too Dr. Bonney brings in physical theories when they are quite out of place. What possible light, for instance, on the question of the Virgin-birth of our Lord, can we hope to derive from the phenomena of parthenogenesis, as it is called, to be found in some species of *invertebrata*? These phenomena, says the author, "show the possibility of the production of an offspring without the usual synthesis of the sexes." But the Virgin-birth of Christ, in any case, is not an instance of this possibility, but only of the power of God to produce directly any effect whatever which can otherwise be produced by the operation of natural agencies. Again, it is no help whatever towards understanding the mystery of the Trinity to have discovered that "among minerals cases are familiar where the same chemical compound may assume more than one form, each of which is conspicuous and persistent." According to revelation—the only source from which we can know anything about the Blessed Trinity—nature is not only similar in the three divine Persons but identical; were it otherwise there would be three Gods not one. Nor, again, has the author's learned demonstration that the act of combination between oxygen and hydrogen gives rise to a new substance, which remains the same but has accidents which vary as it passes from the

solid to the liquid, or gaseous states—any bearing whatever on the question of Transubstantiation. Catholic faith asserts the conversion of the substance of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, because that is what our Lord affirms; but it holds also that the accidents remain as before, because that is what our senses tell us.

On the subject of Miracles Dr. Bonney is very hazy. He seems to take up *a priori* the position that miracles are never absolute; that at most they derive the element of wonder which makes them so impressive from the fact that they anticipate knowledge that was not known generally till later—as the telephone or the aeroplane would have seemed to be wonderful in the middle ages. "When an electro-magnet [he says] is disconnected with the battery it is incapable of holding up a bar of iron. . . . But if the current is switched on the bar adheres to the magnetized arm. . . . The power exerted produces a result which, to one who could not see how it was done, and was quite ignorant of electricity, is a miracle." This he applies to our Lord's case thus: "Christ is said on one occasion to have been conscious that power had gone out of Him, and that in some difficult cases the power delegated to His followers proved to be inadequate; the current was too weak for that purpose." This is a hopeless way of dealing with a stupendous subject. If Dr. Bonney conceives thus of our Lord's miracles we must not be surprised if he considers ecclesiastical miracles unworthy of careful examination. "Both Marie Alacoque at Paray-le-Monial, and Bernardette Soubirous at Lourdes, may have thoroughly believed in the reality of the visions . . . and yet the one have had experience only of an unusually vivid dream, the other have been the victim of an hallucination." That is all he cares to know about occurrences which have impressed not a few learned and competent men.

(2) We welcome in Dr. Michael Rackl's work on the Christology of St. Ignatius of Antioch another valuable contribution to that excellent series, the *Freiburger Theologische Studien*, edited by Dr. Hoberg and Dr. Pfeilschifter, with the co-operation of the theological faculty of the university. Dr. Rackl offers us a preliminary defence of the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles, directed against Völter. Lightfoot's

(2) *Die Christologie des heiligen Ignatius von Antiochien*. Von Dr. Michael Rackl. London: Herder. Pp. xxxii, 418. Price, 8s. 1914.

massive edition of Ignatius, to which Dr. Rackl pays a fitting tribute (p. 14), probably prevents much impression being made by an attack in that direction, at all events, among English-speaking scholars; but it is an excellent thing that attacks like these should occasionally meet with an able and vigorous refutation such as is furnished here.

The main treatise is well drawn up and clearly indexed; it is easy to follow and to appreciate the argument. Dr. Rackl insists (pp. 116—117) that the Docetism which St. Ignatius combats is not Gnosticism. Probably it is not; but his one test of Gnosticism seems to be the doctrine that matter is evil, and we doubt whether this is quite sufficient. Gnosticism is an elusive phenomenon, perhaps, as is the case with Apocalyptic, an attitude rather than a doctrine; and in our present state of knowledge one cannot but mistrust any attempt to assign it a definite label and pigeon-hole. Nor are we inclined to look upon St. Ignatius' antagonism to Docetism, which questioned the reality of our Lord's human nature, as one that showed particularly keen insight (pp. 143—144). As our author himself points out, Docetism undermined the truth of the gospels, and the whole dogmatic and religious value of the life of Christ. No wonder that St. Ignatius felt it his duty to combat it with all his might.

Coming to the question of Christ's Divinity, Dr. Rackl well remarks, and it is a point worth insisting on, that the modern difficulty on this head is the precise opposite of that in St. Ignatius' day. Your modern Christian—using the word in its widest and politest sense—is only too certain that Christ was a true man, and the question is, what will he make of Christ's Divinity. But there was no need for St. Ignatius to dwell on this latter, for it was common ground; it was Christ's human nature that was contested. Hence we have little or no argument on St. Ignatius' part to prove our Lord's Godhead; but there is a formidable array of passages which show that he took it for granted (p. 151).

Another interesting point is St. Ignatius' relation to the apostle St. John. It is admitted to be surprising that he has so little about the latter, considering that the saint was passing through the Johannine churches (p. 325). But Dr. Rackl makes a good point when he attributes this to the fact that it was St. Paul that was uppermost in St. Ignatius' mind; in his journey from Antioch through Ephesus to Rome he might be said to be treading in the Apostle's footsteps. None

the less, our author is able to devote an important section to showing how deep St. John's doctrine had sunk into St. Ignatius' mind. As regards literary dependence, Dr. Rackl is content with "only one example" (p. 331); but this is scarcely a fair way of presenting the matter, for this "one example" seems to be much the most certain case of a quotation from the fourth Gospel (Philadelph. vii. 1 from John iii. 8).

In conclusion, we must once more express our gratitude for this valuable contribution to the better understanding of one whose ardent words still have power to inflame our hearts to-day. The burning devotion of the Syrian to our Blessed Lord reminds us that he had something more than a name in common with his later namesake of Loyola.

(3) Father Schuhmacher, who has only lately left the Biblical Institute, has brought out the first volume of an important work on that difficult passage, Phil. ii. 5—8. If we may begin by a comment on the cover, we may point out that one would naturally infer from it, (1) that the second volume was to be written by somebody else, and (2) that the Biblical Institute was doing its own publishing, whereas their real publisher appears to be Max Bretschneider. And we may add that, though the get-up of the book is on the whole satisfactory, we have noticed rather more misprints than is becoming, perhaps due to an Italian printer. Father Schuhmacher, we presume, knows English well, for he now holds a post in the Catholic University of America in Washington, and indeed he has made good use of English works; but he prefers to write in his own native tongue.

Evidently it is a point of wisdom to examine what others have said on a knotty question before framing one's own conclusions. In the present volume Father Schuhmacher has given us shortly the conclusions of all and sundry on the verses which he is investigating, and he promises to publish before long his own detailed exegesis of the passage. Until this further volume is published it is evidently unfair to pass more than a provisional judgment upon his work. Its chief

(3) *Christus in seiner Präexistenz und Kenose, nach Phil. ii. 5—8. Von Heinrich Schuhmacher. Erster Teil: Historische Untersuchung. Rom.: Verlag des päpstl. Bibelinstituts. Pp. xxxii, 232. Price, 4.50 l. 1914.*

merit is its concise statement and clear arrangement; not merely is the field of labour well mapped out, but there are admirable summaries at the end of the several sections. And yet we must confess that, on the whole, it does not inspire us with confidence. In the first place, the very number of the works quoted is alarming. That is the fashion now; no work must be left unnoticed. But it is evident that the writer cannot have mastered all the authorities whom he quotes; even if he has had a full course at the Biblical Institute, that very course would not leave him free for a labour of this kind. And the necessary consequence of this bibliographical fever is that the commentators who really count are lost amid a multitude who do not, and that we are offered nothing beyond bare conclusions, instead of the careful balancing of arguments. And again, the writer himself has his mind made up from the beginning, like many before him who have sketched the history of opinions. He is resolved that *οὐχ ἄρπαγμα* κτλ is to signify the justness of Christ's claims to Godhead, like the Latin *non rapinam*, and he criticizes accordingly. Yet the other sense is surely that demanded by the context: Christ "did not think His Godhead a prize to be clutched at and held fast at any cost," but, in so far as He took human nature, He emptied Himself of it, thus setting to us the example of humility on which it is St. Paul's purpose to dwell. However, as Father Schuhmacher has not attempted to discuss the passage on its own merits, neither shall we. We shall merely note, as regards tradition, firstly, that though this interpretation really presupposes Christ's Divinity just as much as the other, it does not do so in a manner at once so evident. Hence early writers, with the Arians on their mind, would not be so quick to adopt it. But, secondly, the names of those who actually support it would certainly give pause to one accustomed to attend to worth rather than numbers: they range from Chrysostom and Theodoret and Theophylact to Lightfoot and Father Prat. We could not expect the earlier trio to reject a current interpretation; but along with it they give us the fruits of their own careful study. The Latin text, of course, could only lead to one conclusion, but this is not the only place in St. Paul where it is misleading.

3.—ANGLICAN THEOLOGY.¹

(1) Our first criticism on Bishop Chandler's new book must be that it has neither an Index nor an analytic Table of Contents, an omission which in a book of this sort renders the reviewer's task very difficult, and all the more so as in this instance the author has a habit of holding back his replies to questions which at once suggest themselves, until the reader has become confused with an array of rejected solutions. By the "cult of the passing moment" Bishop Chandler means imparting a religious transfiguration to the habit of giving exclusive attention to the impressions and feelings of the passing moment which, by contrast with the habit of living on past memories and reasoned theories, seems to bring with it an intimate contact with reality in all its freshness. This cult, apart from religion, though so attractive at the moment, is wont to pall and weary as the moments of delicious experience die away in the past, but, if supplemented with the permanent and moral background of religion, that is to say with the sense of God's presence and the continuous significations of God's will to the soul, it retains the element of vivacity together with a quality of restfulness and tranquillity. This, expressed in unusual language, appears to be only what Catholic masters of spirituality call living in union with God, but when the author speaks of a continual intimation of the divine will to the soul, a will which may vary, or alter in view of the changing circumstances and conditions, how is the soul to know what is the divine message to it at one time or another, and how it is to be distinguished from those intimations of subjectivism which are purely psychological? The author admits the difficulty, but does not give a very satisfactory reply to it. "The validity or truth of our ideas about God," he says, "depends on our ability to satisfy conditions" such as these. Do they "rest on a basis of historical fact"? do they "unify and consolidate the whole system of our experience"? do they "solve certain problems of existence which would otherwise remain insoluble"? has the "inward experience of God" which they express "the qualities of effectiveness, clearness, steadiness and consistency which distinguish objective fact alike from fancy and hallucination"? This is a cum-

¹ (1) *The Cult of the Passing Moment.* By Arthur Chandler, Bishop of Bloemfontein. London: Methuen and Co. Pp. x, 217. Price, 3s. 6d. net. 1914.

brous and uncertain test to apply, and a Catholic reader cannot but reflect on the simplicity of the Catholic solution to the same difficulty. Reason and revelation, as recognized and proclaimed by the Church, teach us what God is and what His will is: and instructed in this the Christian soul knows how to interpret its spiritual experiences for ordinary cases, and, when the Holy Spirit seems to be prompting to some special object or work, can weigh the matter in the scales of the sanctuary under the guidance of some masters of the spiritual life. But Bishop Chandler would consider this to be a far too intellectualist procedure.

In another chapter the author goes on to discuss the question of Development of Doctrine, though he fails to make it over clear how this subject grows out of the foregoing. Anyhow he contests the Catholic notion of doctrinal development, taking it, however, not from any directly Catholic source but from a sermon preached by Newman in his Anglican days, and from some comments by the late Father Tyrrell who, in framing his exposition of its character, had an axe of his own to grind. He also rejects Father Tyrrell's theory of development, and recommends his own as much more satisfactory. We cannot trust ourselves to explain what this theory is, so hard do we find it to think out and assimilate what he means. His general idea is, however, that a doctrine ought to develop not in a straight line, but in "ascending coils or spirals," so that "every curve should embrace and comprehend a certain response from the volitional and affective nature; and only on condition of this response being enveloped and secured should a further doctrinal ascent be made." If the reader should consider a sentence like this to be somewhat obscure, he may find what follows more illuminating. "We believe . . . that the formation of doctrine is due to the free and conscious action of [a multitude of individuals endowed with affections, will, and a reasoning capacity] guided but not overborne by the influence of the Holy Spirit . . . [which] thus guides the Church into truth by thus influencing and inspiring the complete personality of its members, especially in its deeper and more spiritual capacities." In short, the individualities go as they will, and the Holy Spirit brings order out of chaos. But, if truth is one, as most people think it is, the present state of Christendom can hardly be said to illustrate this theory. In two more chapters the author emphasizes the need of the self-discipline of the cross

and the support of the sacramental system as requisite for the complete training of the human spirit for this cult of the passing moment.

(2) *The Religious Instinct*, by the Rev. Thomas Hardy, is one of the multitude of books which reflect the felt need of the human heart for a religion which can satisfy it. Mr. Hardy, according to the manner of the age, thinks it necessary to take as his definition of the religious instinct one which will include even the most rudimentary species of religion, as found in the fetish-worship of the savage, and the cult of the impersonal and the Buddhist. Starting from this, he notes that the religious instinct as civilization advances, so far from perishing, becomes ever more definite and self-interpretive, and ever more imperative in its demands for a satisfying response. Such a response Christianity alone is found able to give. From this outline the nature of the book and its argument can be gathered, but the working out of the argument is neither convincing nor clear, and it is not likely to influence minds not otherwise predisposed to accept it.

(3) Divine forgiveness and the conditions on which it is granted to man is the subject of Dr. Douglas White's *Forgiveness and Suffering*. Like so many nowadays, he cannot accept the Catholic doctrine of Expiation, which he identifies with approximate correctness with St. Anselm's in the *Cur Deus Homo*. He forgets, however, that it is not St. Anselm who first put forward this explanation, for it is to be found clearly stated in the Epistle to the Hebrews, indeed, is the main doctrine of that Epistle. Dr. White's alternative is, as he confesses, of his own conceiving. It is based on the questionable principle that the value of forgiveness is proportioned to its costliness to the forgiving party; Christ's Passion was the condition of His power to forgive sins, because, apart from it, He could not have bestowed a costly forgiveness; because, too, Christ was the revelation of God, and His Passion was accordingly God's Passion. But "can Almighty God suffer?" "The answer is short," says Dr. White. "God is love. . . . Now love is passible; and if God is love, God can suffer. . . . The doctrine of the impassibility of God is the great-

(2) *The Religious Instinct*. By the Rev. T. J. Hardy. London: Longmans. Pp. ii, 300. Price, 5s. net. 1913.

(3) *Forgiveness and Suffering*. By Dr. Douglas White. Cambridge University Press. Pp. xi, 133. Price, 3s. net. 1913.

est heresy that ever besmirched Christianity." We may doubt if Dr. White's theory will be accepted as an improvement on that of St. Anselm.

(4) Mr. Freeman's *Authority* is intended to be a contribution to the cause of Christian Reunion. At least, so it is taken by Bishop Ryle, who writes for it a short Introductory Note. By "authority" the author means "that weight of testimony which causes any doctrine or opinion to be worthy of our belief," and he refers it, quite rightly, to the "Voice of God" as its ultimate source. But this Voice, so he contends, comes to man through five channels: Individualism, the Church, the Scriptures, Tradition, Pragmatism. To a certain extent, he thinks, this order is the order in which these principles became dominative in the history of Christianity, but no period was without some influx of them all into the origination and maintenance of its religious beliefs; and similarly in the present age as in all previous ages, there is variety to be found in different Christian minds, some being more influenced by one of the five channels, others by others, or by an intermingling of one or another in different proportions. The author pleads that, though he has led an active ministerial life, this is his first book, so we must be indulgent to his tendency to talk round a point instead of grasping it accurately, and so involve his ideas in a certain obscurity. But he appears by Tradition to mean legendary notions that have been preserved in apocryphal sources, and by Pragmatism working for social improvement. The chief criticism on the theory is that it is very hazy as to the inter-relations between the five channels. In cases of conflict, which cannot but be frequent, how are we to tell which must yield to which. It is suggested indeed that we can be sure of the common elements in recognizing which all the five are agreed, and this is applied to the determination of the nature of Holy Communion, and of the obligation of the Sunday's rest. This test, however, tends to reduce the area of attested belief to a minimum, indeed not even to a fixed minimum, for Individualism and Pragmatism at all events are principles which are apt to vary their attestations, as period succeeds period. But, whatever we may think of Mr. Freeman's theory, he writes in a kindly spirit, and endeavours in the measure of his lights to recognize elements of truth wherever he finds them in systems other than his own.

(4) *Authority*. By the Rev. George Freeman. London: H. R. Allenson, Ltd. Pp. viii, 198. Price, 2s. 6d. net. 1914.

**4.—THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND
EPISCOPACY.¹**

In a short Preface Canon Mason explains the origin of this book. When the Kikuyu Conference began to point to a judgment being demanded of the Archbishop of Canterbury, it became his duty, as the Archbishop's chaplain, to investigate certain points in the controversy, and he set himself to construct "a kind of catena of passages from Anglican writers, from the Reformation to the Catholic Revival of the nineteenth century for the purpose of showing their views on the origin, the sanction, and the obligations of episcopacy; and on the position we ought to hold in relation to non-episcopal communities both abroad and at home." Such is the origin of the present work, which "is humbly offered as a contribution towards the solution of questions which the Kikuyu Conference has raised, and to which an authoritative answer has been promised."

It is a useful book beyond question. The author, though he "does not profess to be impartial" in his judgment, shows that impartiality in collecting and co-ordinating the materials which we look for in one who summarizes the evidence for a judge; and that is all we can require of him. Whether the general effect of this mass of testimonies from Anglican divines during the period covered will be deemed to support Canon Mason's view that "to tamper with episcopacy would be to throw away all that is most distinctive in the character and prospects of the Church of England," may perhaps be doubted. He thinks that "no one who follows the evidence can doubt that the Church of England stands for episcopacy with a resolution peculiarly its own." One might be tempted, as one runs through all these quotations from Anglican writers of the period covered, to think that with an "irresolution peculiarly its own" would be a phrase more in accordance with the facts. Yet, in a certain sense, Canon Mason is right. If we leave out the Commonwealth interlude, which does not count, it is quite true to say that all its divines, and all the guardians of the existence of the Anglican Church, did mean, from beginning to end, that it should be itself an episcopal Church. But in what sense? Canon Mason does not define the word "episcopal," and so fails to take into account the essential difference of meaning

¹ By A. J. Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury. Cambridge: at the University Press. Pp. x, 560. Price, 10s. 6d. net. 1914.

between episcopacy as it is understood and deemed vital by Anglicans of the school of Bishop Weston of Zanzibar, and episcopacy as it is thought desirable in itself but not essential to Church *status*, by Anglicans of the school of Bishops Peel of Mombasa and Willis of Uganda. For Bishop Weston and his school the episcopal order is an Order to which has been transmitted, along with the power of transmitting it in turn to others, the mystical power which is creative of the Sacraments, and apart from which valid Sacraments, above all, the valid Sacrament and sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, are unobtainable. For the adverse school, episcopacy is but the highest degree in a form of ecclesiastical government, which, according to some Anglicans of this school, is apostolical in its origin, according to others of the same school does not go back quite so far as that, but is very ancient. The whole Kikuyu controversy raised by Bishop Weston, and referred for an authoritative judgment to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his comprovincials, turns precisely on the question of this internal character of episcopacy, and not on the propriety of episcopacy as a form of government. If Bishop Weston is right, it stands to reason that there cannot be a federation of the Kikuyu species without endangering all that is of value (or, as we must say, is thought to be of value), in the Anglican sacraments. If Bishops Peel and Willis are right, it is quite intelligible that they, and those who think with them, should consider that, though their own episcopal system should be preserved in their own Church, it does not involve, as a necessary consequence, unchurching other Christian communities, merely because they are non-episcopal in their constitutions. And, as for Canon Mason's *catena*, we fear these latter will claim it as a triumphant vindication of their contention. The divines whose views are there brought together of course did not think alike, and in those of different periods one detects a difference of tendency. In the time of Bishop Cosin and earlier, the tendency was to distinguish between foreign Protestant communities and English Nonconformist communities. Communication *in sacris* with the former was intelligible, and was practised when circumstances seemed to constrain to it; with the latter it was not to be thought of, because, being set up in opposition to the Established Church of the country, they were in manifest schism. On the other hand, for these Nonconformists to come up sometimes to the Anglican Communion-table was rather to be

commended, for so far as it went, it was a return of the seceders to their true allegiance. What we see now-a-days in the position taken up by Bishops Peel and Willis at Kikuyu, paralleled as it is by many analogous acts of others, for instance, of Bishop Percival recently at Hereford, or earlier, of the general communion at Westminster Abbey in which all the revisers of the English Bible joined, or again, of the known sympathy, expressed or unexpressed, of so many Anglicans of position with these various acts of *rapprochement* between Anglicans and Nonconformists is only the logical development of what we find in more ancient divines like Bishop Cosin.

5.—AN INDEX TO NEWMAN.¹

By this Index to Newman Father Joseph Rickaby has supplied a long-felt need. Newman wrote so many books, over forty, according to the enumeration given in this Index; and there is so much of value spread over all these volumes, so much even of what have become household words for Newmanophiles, and not these only. The difficulty has been hitherto to find them, but, thanks to this Index, that difficulty will exist no longer. It is not, however, to this that Father Rickaby has confined himself. Newman was a thinker whose thought, in the course of its development, led him through many stages and some disillusionments. It constrained him in the middle of his days to forsake the religion in which he had been brought up, and of which he had been so powerful an exponent, and to pass over to the religion of Catholicism. This means, of course, that his Catholic writings must be distinguished from those of his Anglican days, and yet that a subtle continuity between the former and much that is in the latter must be noted, as well as what is discontinuous between the two. Some writers, particularly some French writers, have failed to appreciate these differences and so have quoted indifferently from one or another of his books and sought to weave out of them all a whole supposed to be consistent. From this sort of misconception also Father Rickaby has protected future readers, for he is quite alive to all the shades of distinction.

¹ *Index to the Works of John Henry Cardinal Newman.* By Joseph Rickaby, S.J., B.Sc. (Oxon). London: Longmans. Pp. viii, 156. Price, 6s. net. 1914.

For his idea has been to furnish a "Guide to Newman's Thought."

This [he says] is not a Concordance or Onomasticon; it is meant as a Guide to Newman's Thought, to the changes of that thought, or, as he would have said, to the development which his thought ran through from the first public utterance of the Fellow of Oriel to the last words of the aged Priest of the Oratory.

Obviously a book of this kind is one which one must become familiar with, before one can form a just opinion of its quality. It is also one which is likely in time, and in deference to the fires of criticism, to require expansion and revision, perhaps even correction in some of its parts. We do not say this in view of any particular shortcoming that we have detected, but from the nature of the case. For an individual writer who undertakes a guide of this kind it is much that he should have made the beginning. Still, as having a fairly good knowledge of what Newman has said, and of the modes of thought which were distinctive in him, we may venture to testify that Father Rickaby's beginning is a very good one indeed, and will be of great utility to disciples of the great Cardinal who should, and doubtless will, find this little guide an indispensable companion to the many volumes of the Cardinal's writings on their bookshelves. A word of recognition is due to the enterprise of Messrs. Longmans, who have brought out this Index at so cheap a price, and to the author himself for the lucid system of diacritical signs by which he has been able to convey the meaning in so clear and at the same time simple manner.

Short Notices.

HOMILETIC.

THE solid compilation of **Conference Matter for Religious** (Herder: 2 vols., ros. 6d. net) which Father Ferreol Girardey, C.S.S.R., has put together, partly from notes of his own conferences to Religious, and partly from two old works of asceticism which he describes, will be found a mine of sound ore both by Religious and by priests who have to give Retreats to them. The venerable Redemptorist Father whom we have to thank for these volumes writes from an experience of fifty years specially devoted to the spiritual care of Religious Communities, so that it may be confidently assumed that their matter is as reliable and as practical as their style undoubtedly is direct and lucid. Moreover they are packed full of illustrations from ascetical history, from the Fathers of the Desert onwards.

The task, which many find so difficult, of bringing their minds into touch with the very young, as teachers have had to do since our Holy Father's Reform of 1910, would be greatly facilitated by the study of such a book as the Rev. James Nist's **Private First Communion Instructions for Little Children** (Herder: 2s. 6d. net). Father Nist's solution of the difficulty is to give the very minimum of dogma and to devote himself to arousing the affections. And he notes one most important point, namely that young children can and should be accustomed to pray mentally; they can in fact do so more easily for a few moments than pray vocally with attention, and in the earliest years that habit can be implanted which is the very root of all prayer, for lack of which so many a spiritual life in after years is withered.

A parting gift from Father Adolphe Petit, S.J., who at ninety years of age has left this legacy to the thousands who have, during more than half a century, profited by his retreats, has been translated into English by Miss Marian Lindsay, and published under the title of **My Bark** (Herder: 2s. 6d. net). It follows of course the Exercises, treating them under the allegory of a ship and its voyage. Direct, homely, colloquial, the addresses show vividly one of the many facets whereby the "Ignatian Spirituality" makes so universal an appeal. Since the publication of the book, Father Petit has gone to his well-earned and long-awaited reward. May he rest in peace!

THEOLOGICAL

A still further edition has been called for of Dr. Nicholas Gühr's monumental work, **The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, Dogmatically, Liturgically and Ascetically Explained** (Herder: 12s. 6d. net). Its price for a volume of nearly 800 very large pages, well and strongly bound, and carefully printed in an elaborate typographical scheme, is most moderate. As to its contents, their scope and thoroughness are well-known, and in particular the elaboration of the dogmatic and ascetical treatment of the subject. If, as regards liturgical science, the work suffers somewhat by dating in this edition from 1897, the public to which it is addressed hardly demands the discussion of details of scholarship so much as edification and the exposition of those broad principles and facts which the later researches have little, if at all, affected. Like *L'Année liturgique*, Gühr stands in many important respects outside the merely temporary and local.

It was not long after the publication of the Abbé Félix Anizan's beautiful little book on the Sacred Heart—"Vers Lui"—that its author began to receive many "kindly worded but quite definite criticisms" of his definition of the sacred subject of that work. To these he has replied in an equally kindly worded, but equally uncompromising little study in technical theology, now translated by Father Fitzpatrick, O.M.I., and entitled in English, **What is the Sacred Heart?** (Washbourne: 2s. net). The Abbé maintains that the Sacred Heart "is really Jesus Himself, under the aspect of His Love, symbolized by His Heart of Flesh and Blood," and that this definition is theologically, devotionally, and in every other way preferable to "the Heart of Flesh and Blood, symbolizing the love of the Incarnate Word." Obviously we cannot discuss in a short notice a question like this, treated at length by the Abbé from the points of view of philosophy, theology, history and authority, and treated

not only exhaustively but with equal subtlety and sobriety. The "priests and seminarians," to whom the treatise is dedicated, must judge it for themselves, though we venture to question Father Fitzpatrick's recommendation of so technical a book to "pious people generally." A formidable array of living authorities have expressed their approval of the work, including persons so widely different and so authoritative as Père Hugon, O.P., the Abbé Sandreau, and our own Cardinal Gasquet.

DEVOTIONAL.

That the devotion of Catholics to the Holy Spirit should become much more explicit than it is, has been the desire of some of the most trusted leaders of Catholic thought, Cardinal Manning among the foremost. As the Bishop of Salford points out in his Preface, its propagation will be greatly served by an excellent little Catechism just produced by a Capuchin Father, **The Spirit of the Lord and His Holy Operations** (Washbourne: 9d. and 1s. n.). The whole ground indicated by the title is covered without undue elaboration and in a clear and concise style, and three useful appendices give various devotions to the Holy Spirit, the Rite of Confirmation, and a few of the best-known hymns.

Three books of prayer that lie before us, quite different in their scope, are each of quite special interest in one way or another. The little **Dominican Mass Book**, compiled by a member of the Second Order (Washbourne: price 6d. net), giving the Ordinary of the Mass in Latin and English, with a few prayers for Holy Communion, is distinguished by an excellent introduction on the history of the Dominican Rite, and nearly fifty pages of notes on its liturgical features. It will thus be of independent value to those who already possess the larger books intended for lay people of Dominican interests. The second book is Messrs. Washbourne's **Manual of Church Prayers** (price 2s.), whose distinguishing features are the large value of 1,000 pages given for so small a price and the liturgical nature of the contents. As Cardinal Gasquet notes in his Preface, it is similar in scope to the French *Paroissien Romain*, and we heartily unite with His Eminence in hoping that it may help greatly to increase knowledge of and love for the prayers of the Sacred Liturgy and the Psalms. The third prayer-book is one of that excellent kind which contains very few prayers at all, but is devoted to matter intended to, and calculated to excite the mind and heart to their own affective acts and aspirations towards God—the twin of liturgical prayer, either incomplete without the other. It is entitled **Thanksgiving after Holy Communion**, and is translated from the French of Fr. G. Villefranche, S.J., by Miss Irene Hernaman (Washbourne: price 2s. 6d. net). This little volume is packed full of food for the mind, as in the chapter devoted to the teaching of Cajetan and Suarez as to the action of the Divine Guest in the soul of the communicant. But it all ministers directly to the production of acts of prayer.

From the prolific pen of the Abbé H. Bels, we have a second series of his **Figures de Pères et Mères Chrétiens** (Téqui: price 2 fr.). These short and vivid sketches of pious parents, beginning with St. Anne, and extending to our own day, should help greatly to strengthen the feeling for family life, the lack of which is at the root of so many evils both here and on the Continent. From the same publishers we have a little pocket volume of **Paroles d'Encouragement**, compiled by Père F. Millian from

the letters of St. Francis of Sales (price 1 fr.). To say so much is enough to commend to all our readers this prettily produced little volume.

Bishop Paul Wilhelm von Keppler's beautiful book *Mehr Freude* at last reaches English readers, translated, or rather adapted, by the capable pen of the Paulist Father McSorley, and published by Mr. Herder under the title of **More Joy** (4s. net). Those to whom *Mehr Freude* has become a favourite "bedside book" will be the first to congratulate those to whom that precious little volume, as attractive without as within, has hitherto been a sealed book; though they will regret that circumstances have produced an English version of bulky form, on soft paper, and with American spelling, of a book which deserved the most delicate handling of printer and binder. Still, better thus than not at all is *More Joy*—the Right to Joy, Joy and Art, Joy and Christianity, Still More Joy, Little Joys, Joy in Work, Joy of the Soul, a Portrait-gallery of Joyful People, and all the rest of that catalogue of joys—exhilarating in the very chapter-headings—wherewith Bishop von Keppler has charmed away so many black hours from so many heads and hearts.

We are glad to receive from Messrs. Longmans a new edition of those **Meditations and Devotions** of Cardinal Newman (price 3s. 6d. net) which made so profound an impression when first issued a year or two after his death in that well-remembered long, narrow form and thin paper that were such striking features of the issue. The present edition is of more usual *format*, and is without Father Neville's Introduction, which, however, can be obtained in the still current original edition.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

What Bishop Hedley, in his Introduction to the **Life of the Venerable Louis Marie Baudouin** (Washbourne: 8s. 6d. net), describes as "an edifying Life," is that and something more. Those who are sensible enough to swallow any dislike of the traditional style of modern hagiography (and it is here at its highest power), and of its diffuseness (for this book is weighty in the literal sense), will be rewarded with a full-length picture of one of the most stirring episodes in the age-long warfare of the Catholic Church. For Father Baudouin was a Vendean, whose priestly career extended from the Fall of the Bastille into the reign of Louis Philippe, and of the struggles of the Vendean for their altar, their King, and their homes, he was not only witness but partaker, ministering to his people in secrecy and disguise with a price upon his head. A short refugee life in Spain was followed by the long, slow task of upbuilding the ruined Church. Père Baudouin's extraordinary achievement, his religious foundations, his work in the training of the clergy, his apostolate of the masses, with the singular persecutions with which his work was tried, are told with perhaps more fulness of detail than the twentieth century quite needs. Still they form a stirring story, which is after all but a background to the figure of the Father himself. It is one of those supernatural figures—*admirabilis* in both meanings of the word—that testify to the Divine amongst us "all the days." If, as seems probable, the canonization of this Vendean apostle eventually takes place, the full-length biography will already exist in this work of the Abbé Michaud, which is based on the fullest and most authentic sources of information. It has been competently translated by Father W. A. Phillipson.

Another holy French Priest, whose Cause is proceeding at Rome, is

Father Claude Bernard (Letheilleux: 3 fr.), called "The Poor Priest," of whose life and work we have a charming sketch, differing in every way from the full-length biography of convention, by Commander de Broquer, postulator of his Cause. Again we have here a biography of independent historical interest. An apostle of poverty and the poor, Père Bernard yet obtained an extraordinary hold upon many in the immediate circle of Louis XIII. and Anne of Austria, and was distinguished for an extraordinary passion both for the Monarchy as an institution and for his King. It is a strange story and a very striking one, told with the charm and the beauty of style of the best French writing, and compressed within limits which enable us to get a clear picture of the central figure, not overloaded with detail.

The editors of the Lecoffre series of "Lives of the Saints" have perhaps chosen wisely in selecting a secular priest of acknowledged literary power and historical competence for the life of the great Dominican Pope. **Saint Pie V**, by the Abbé Georges Grente (Lecoffre: 2 fr.), is indeed a remarkable example of compressed writing, which is none the less vivid and picturesque. Of course the Life of St. Pius will not go into 250 small pages; none the less, no salient feature of his many-sided activity is omitted, and the whole is composed into a picture that will satisfy the Saint's warmest clients. Moreover, this little work has the independent value that comes of the author's special researches at the Vatican, in Florence and at Simancas. We notice on pages 145-6 a short pen-picture of Queen Elizabeth, which leaves absolutely nothing to be desired in regard of incisiveness. But English affairs naturally find but a small place in a Life of St. Pius necessarily written on so small a scale.

HISTORICAL.

M. Navatel, in **Fénélon: La Confrérie Secrète du pur Amour** (Emile-Paul: 3.50 fr.), draws his material from sources that are perfectly well known, and treats it in a sufficiently objective spirit. After promising to carry still further the work of Saint-Beuve and Brunetière in distinguishing "the real Fénélon" from the "Fénélon of the legend," he sketches the Archbishop's method of spiritual direction as he considers it essentially to have been—an effort to foster in an esoteric circle his conception of pure love and the practice of the prayer of quiet, an effort, so far as it was successful, due to the "charme enchanteur de son esprit, à ses manières caressantes, à ses complaisances infinies." The bulk of the book is devoted to the elucidation of this standpoint by a series of intimate sketches of the members of the circle—the Comtesse de Gramont, the Duke and Duchess of Chevreuse, and a half-a-dozen others, the relations with the Duc de Bourgogne being treated with particular minuteness. The figure, of course, of Madame Guyon hovers continually in the background, a shadow of no happy omen. A conclusion sums up the whole book in a tone intensely hostile to the Archbishop, but not, so far as we can see, pressing the case beyond the limits of what is reasonably arguable. The friends of Fénélon will have plenty to say in reply, and we confess that to us M. Navatel seems rather to have focussed into one picture the less happy characteristics of a very complex historical figure than to have given us a portrait of the whole man.

To that very competent Scottish antiquary, Dom Michael Barrett,

O.S.B., we owe yet another volume of gleanings from the North. **Foot-prints of the Ancient Scottish Church** (Sands and Co.: 6s. net) consists largely of articles that appeared from time to time in the *American Catholic Quarterly* on such subjects as the old Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, Hospitals, Holy Wells, &c., of Scotland. The full "documentation" adds to the acknowledged authority of the author still further weight.

FICTION.

Mrs. W. C. Maude has followed up her earlier historical novels with one of the fourteenth century, **The Knight of the Fleur-de-Luce** (Washbourne: 2s. 6d.), which we can whole-heartedly commend to older readers as well as the "boys and girls" to whom it is immediately addressed. For there is really nothing childish about it; it is good, sound, historical work, full of life-pictures, woven upon a groundwork of interesting story. And, dedicated "To the author of *Richard Raynal, Solitary*," it shows some of the power of psychological analysis for which that distinguished writer is so famous. The accomplishment of this excellent story should encourage Mrs. Maude to attempt next a larger flight.

GENERAL.

Without prejudice, we understand, to the fuller and more formal history presently to appear, the summer number of **The Clongownian** is devoted to matters concerning the Centenary of the existence of the College. Lavishly adorned with illustrations of various sorts (including two striking views of Clongowes from an aeroplane!) the journal gathers together a record of past and present history, which is convincing evidence of the great place she has occupied during the last hundred years in the fortunes of Ireland. National in spirit from the beginning, many of her *alumni* have played distinguished parts in Irish history, not the least distinguished and successful being that of the present Leader of the Irish Party, whose commanding and persuasive eloquence received its earliest training in her halls. Pleasantly diversified with personal reminiscences from Old Boys of different dates, with much of interest concerning the present status of the School in studies and games and a full account of the Centenary celebrations, *The Clongownian* is a worthy memorial of an exceptional occasion in the history of a great institution.

A book quite in a class of its own, and of exceptional usefulness, is Mr. Herbert Jones' **Altar Flowers and How to Grow Them** (Washbourne: 2s. 6d. net). Excellently illustrated with pictures of flowers both growing and arranged for church use in a way very much better than is usually seen, this little volume gives very full cultural directions, carefully adapted to the use of amateur gardeners. Mr. Jones confines his attention to white flowers, with a short Appendix on red ones. We trust the reception given to his work will encourage him to go on and deal more fully with flowers of other colours, many of which are excellently suited for church use.

To the Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge, Mr. E. J. Rapcan, we owe a concise history of **Ancient India** (Cambridge University Press: 3s. net) from the earliest times to the first century A.D. Sufficiently full for all ordinary purposes, usefully illustrated, and furnished with excellent maps and Index, such an authoritative work published at so low a price should be a boon to the general student. A short bibliography of standard works points the way for further study.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Reviewed in present issue or reserved for future notice.)

- ALLENSON, London.**
Sackville College Sermons, Trinity to Advent. By John Mason Neale, D.D. Pp. 230. Price, 2s. 6d. net.
- BEAUCHESNE, Paris.**
A propos du Centenaire du Rétablissement des Jésuites. Par P. Pierling. Pp. 106. Price, 1 fr.
- BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, Rome.**
Pantheon Babylonicum. Edidit Antonius Deimel, S.J. Roma. 1914. Pp. xvi, 264 [40]. Price, 8.00 l.
- BURNS & OATES, London.**
The Spirit of Cardinal Newman. Preface by C. C. Martindale, S.J. Pp. xii, 208. Price, cloth, 1s. 6d. net. *The Flower of Peace*. By Katharine Tynan. Pp. x, 102. Price, 5s. net.
- CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS.**
Irenaeus of Lugdunum. By F. A. M. Hitchcock. Pp. viii, 374. Price, 9s. net. *Modern Europe*. By John E. Morris, D.Litt. Pp. vi, 282. Price, 3s. 6d. net. *The Church of England and Episcopacy*. By A. J. Mason, D.D. 1914. Pp. x, 560. Price, 10s. 6d. net. *Outlines of Ancient History*. By Harold Mattingly, M.A. Pp. xii, 482. Price, 10s. 6d. net. *Greek History for Schools*. By C. D. Edmonds, M.A. Pp. xviii, 330. Price, 5s. net. *Genesis*. With Introduction and Notes by Herbert E. Ryle, D.D. Pp. lxviii, 478. Price, 4s. 6d. net.
- EXAMINER PRESS, Bombay.**
Thirteen Articles on Freemasonry. By Ernest R. Hull, S.J. Pp. 122. Price, 6 annas, transmission extra.
- FOULIS, London and Edinburgh.**
A Year-Book of Mary Queen of Scots. Collected and edited by A. A. Methuen. Pp. xii, 138. Price, 2s. 6d. net.
- GILL, Dublin.**
The Absolution of Recidivi. By the Rev. David Barry. Pp. 72.
- HERDER, London.**
My Bark. By the Rev. A. Petit, S.J. Pp. viii, 148. *Private First Communion Instructions for Little Children*. By the Rev. James Nest. Pp. viii, 152. Price, 2s. 6d. net.
- LETHEILLEUX, Paris.**
Notre Dame de Lourdes. By Henri Lasserre. Pp. xii, 338. Price, cloth, 1.50 fr.
- LONGMANS, London.**
Institutional Religion. By Hakluyt Egerton. Pp. 24. Price, 6d. net. *Miracles*. By N. P. Williams. Pp. 48. Price, 1s. net. *A Garden of Girls*. By Mrs. Thomas Cannon. Pp. 246. Price, 3s. 6d. *The Miraculous in Gospels and Creeds*. By T. B. Strong. Pp. 32. Price, 6d. net. *Meditations and Devotions*. By Cardinal Newman. Pp. xii, 134. Price, 3s. 6d. net. *Index to the Works of Cardinal Newman*. By Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Pp. viii, 156. Price, 6s. net. *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent*. By Rev. Peter Guilday. Vol. I. Pp. liv, 480. Price, 12s. 6d. net.
- MANRESSA PRESS, Roehampton.**
Down West. By Alice Dease. Pp. viii, 120. Price, 1s. net.
- NOTRE DAME PRESS, Indiana.**
Priestly Practice. By Arthur Barry O'Neill, C.S.C. Pp. 250. Price, \$1.
- OBSERVATORIO DEL EBRO, Tortosa.**
Tres Abacos para las Mediciones Heliográficas por el P. Joaquín Pericas, S.J. Pp. 42.
- SOCIETY OF THE DIVINE WORD, Tachny, Ill., U.S.A.**
The Son of the Vine. By Will W. Whelen. Pp. 20. Price, 5 cents.
- SPORTS AND SPORTSMEN LTD., London.**
Two Undergraduates in the East. By W. C. Jeffries. Pp. xvi, 167.
- TEQUI, Paris.**
Conferences sur, Les Sacrements. Par Mgr. Besson. 2 vol. Pp. ix, 390, 407. Price, 6 fr. *Les vailantes du Devoir, Etudes féminines*. 4th ed. Par Leon-Rimbault. Pp. iv, 400. 3.50 fr. *Figures de Pères et Mères Chrétiens*. By the Abbé H. Bels. Pp. 248. Price, 2 fr. *Paroles d'Encouragement*. By Ferdinand Million. Pp. viii, 238. Price, 1 fr.
- TRALIN, Paris.**
Conversations latines, à l'usage de prêtres ou laïcs. Pp. 91. Price, 1.60 fr.
- WASHBOURNE, London.**
Meditations on the Rosary. By a Brother of the Little Oratory. Pp. x, 62. Price, 6d. net; cloth, 1s. net. *What think you of Christ?* By Francis H. E. Cahusac, M.A. Pp. viii, 104. Price, 6d. net; *The Ideal of Monastic Life Found in the Apostolic Age*. By Dom Germain Morin, O.S.B., translated by C. Gunning. Pp. xvi, 200. Price, 3s. 6d. net. *The Summa Theologica of St. Thomas*. Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. Part III. (qq. lx—lxxxiii). Pp. vi, 468. Price, 7s. 6d.

